THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORMON COMMUNITARIANISM, 1826-1846

By

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PLEASE NOTE:

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This dissertation is a genetic study in the history of early Mormonism. It centers on the United Order of Enoch, a utopian or communal plan that accelerated the rise of Mormonism and that has influenced Mormon history to this day. I have approached the subject not as economic history, or even as church history, but rather as a synthesis or narrative of various forces and factors that played a part in the story of Mormon communitarianism: the West, immigration into the United States, sectarianism, adventist theology, religious biography, and above all, various strains of American and European communitarianism.

The expansion of the dissertation beyond the three-hundred-page limit was foreseen at my colloquium, at which time Professor Ralph H. Gabriel kindly suggested that I be permitted to submit only the core, or first part, of the narrative. This I have done by telescoping the later period (from 1838 to 1846) into one final chapter and by adding several appendices.

I am deeply grateful to my thesis director, Professor Howard R. Lamar, who originally sensed the possibilities of a seminar paper I had presented to him and who has advised me with perspicacity, nicety, and enthusiasm. The Shaker aspect of the dissertation has benefitted enormously from Dr. Edward Deming Andrews' lifetime study of Shakerism. Dr. Andrews generously read the entire manuscript and freely offered the use of his fine collection of sources. My thanks are also due to Mrs. Fawn M. Brodie, who was very helpful at one point in supplying data on a key manuscript formerly owned by her and who encouraged me to go on with my investigation.
To Mormon friends in Utah I owe many a debt, especially for their aid in helping gain access to materials not ordinarily available to non-Mormons. They will perhaps forgive me for not reading the sources through "the eyes of faith." Non-Mormon readers, I may add, should not interpret my use of "Joseph"—for Joseph Smith the Prophet—as condescension; for "Joseph" is his legitimate title among the Mormons.

Finally, I am indebted to my wife for pricking empty bubbles of prose and for always asking the fundamental questions.

Mario S. DePillis

Amherst, Massachusetts
August, 1960
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CHAPTER I

MORMONISM, COMMUNITARIANISM AND NEW ENGLAND

Lo! from Cumorah's lovely hill,
There comes a record of God's will!

--Parley P. Pratt,
The Millennium and Other Poems

One beautiful clear day in the early spring of 1820 a tall young man could be seen leaving a small farmhouse on the outskirts of the village of Manchester in western New York. His prominent nose, jutting forward between two tiny blue eyes, accented the unusual Yankee sobriety of his long face. Slowly but purposefully he made his way toward the thickest part of the nearby woods, lifting his gangling legs athleticism, if not gracefully, over the fallen branches. Where the twigs of bushes reached over the narrowing path he would turn slightly sideways without slackening his deliberate pace until he came at length to a spot he had come to know well after one year's residence in the area. He had to leave the little traveled path to find it, a comparatively open place in the tall deciduous forest. As he made his way through the intervening underbrush, he was startled by the sudden whistling snort of a white-tailed deer disturbed by this early morning intrusion.

Reaching the spot he had sought out, he paused to look and to listen. Nothing could be heard except a few winter-weary birds. Nothing could be seen but the slanting sun outlining the grey boughs and swelling buds of the trees and shimmering on the white petals of the dogwood. He found himself alone, and taking one or two steps forward, he knelt down on the dead leaves of many winters. He was making the attempt, for the first time in his life, to pray
vocally. He was escaping an evil world by discovering the universe within himself.

The sound of his own voice, just past the uncertain pitch of adolescence, gave him an unearthly feeling. And no sooner had he begun to express the desires of his heart to his Heavenly Father than the morning light began to fail. Somewhat alarmed, he still persisted in prayer. He told God that he had come to seek the wisdom promised in the General Epistle of his Apostle James; that he needed wisdom to determine which of many contesting religious parties then preaching a revival around Manchester were right and which were wrong. How could he be saved from an eternity of hellfire unless he knew which tenets were true and which were false? Did the Presbyterians have the True Word as his parents and brothers thought? Did the Baptists have it? Perhaps the Methodists? It was to the preachers of this last group that he felt most partial, but each and every denomination claimed to be the only completely reliable depository of Christian truths. Could it possibly be that some other group taught the true faith and knew the sure road to salvation? Lacking wisdom to decide, excited, confused, and fearing for his salvation, the young man appealed to the promise of Scripture that God hears the prayers of men. He cried out that he had come to this spot to "ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not."

Very quickly now the morning light began to recede before the thick and frightening darkness gathering around him. He felt himself seized upon and overcome by an invisible power that bound his tongue in the midst of prayers. Desperately he tried to call out to God and began to despair and to abandon himself to some sudden and utter destruction. When, at the very moment of terror, he saw descending on him from on high a pillar of light brighter than the sun. Before it the darkness disappeared and the enemy fled.

He now saw before him two brightly glorified personages, one of whom
said, pointing to the other, "This is my beloved Son, hear Him." Regaining possession of himself, the boy immediately asked the two beings which of the many denominations was right—and which one he should join. The answer came quickly: he must join none of them, for they were all wrong. The personage addressing him asserted that those contesting professors of religion were all corrupt. "They draw near to me with their lips," he said, "but their hearts are far from me; they teach for doctrines the commandments of men: having a form of godliness, but they deny the power thereof." Reiterating the command not to join any of them, the speaker continued with a long sermon full of wise things—too many to be written down later—and departed.

Shabbily clothed, the fifteen-year-old's lanky form now lay prostrate on the half-decayed leaves. When he recovered, the pillar of light was gone and, completely exhausted, he opened his eyes on a bright vault of sky shining through the tracery of branches. Slowly his strength returned and he staggered through the woods back toward the poor, dirt farm that scarcely fed him and his family. As he reached the fireplace and leaned against it his mother asked what ailed him. He replied that he was all right. After a pause he told her in the elliptical manner of New England: "I have learned for myself that Presbyterianism is not true."

Why, he asked, as he described his vision eighteen years later, had the Powers of Darkness immediately combined against him? The reason was obvious: Satan the Adversary instantly recognized him as a disturber and, annoyed at this threat to his sectarian kingdom, was beginning a campaign of opposition and persecution. His mother, like the mother of Christ, would prove to be tolerant, even encouraging. But when he told a Methodist preacher who was very active in the religious excitement around Manchester at the time, the latter treated the communication with contempt, saying that visions and revelations had ceased with the Apostles. The story of the vision spread and the
obscure, poverty-stricken adolescent felt that the sects had "all united to persecute me." He took comfort in the fact that Paul, too, had been reviled and ridiculed for describing a vision in his defense before King Agrippa. He knew now that the sectarians were evil. All these things had come about because Providence had directed him to the text in James which promised wisdom to him who asked of God.

During the three years that followed the vision persecution went on unabated; for the boy continued to affirm he had seen a vision. Aside from this great stigma, he later thought his life to have been a normal one for a backwoods youth, and his sins, reduced in size by the perspective of years, to have been venial—the "foibles of human nature," as he called them. Yet trivial as they were ("levity, [assocation] with jovial company, etc.") he became obsessed with guilt concerning his imperfections. He felt "condemned" and, as such thoughts persisted, his sense of guilt became too much for him to bear. At this point, on the night of September 21, 1823, his visions were renewed.

He had retired to his bed for the night, but before thinking of sleep he spent some time in prayer and supplication to God for forgiveness of all his sins and also for another divine manifestation as an assurance of his state and standing before God. "For I had," he later wrote, "full confidence in obtaining a divine manifestation, as I had previously done." No sooner had he made the request than a white light appeared, and when it had reached a noonday intensity a white-robed personage suddenly appeared standing in the air with his feet a few inches above the floor. The apparition addressed the quaking boy by name: Joseph Smith. It identified itself to Joseph as a messenger of God named Moroni.

The angel Moroni told Joseph that God had a work for him to do of such a nature that both good and evil would be attached to the name of Joseph
Smith "among all nations, kindreds, and tongues." Moroni then outlined the work: the translation of a book, written on gold plates, and buried in the side of a hill "convenient to the village of Manchester." This book gave an account of the former inhabitants of the North American continent, "and the sources from whence they sprang." Almost as an afterthought Moroni added the world-shaking information that it also contained the "fullness of the everlasting Gospel" as delivered to the ancient inhabitants by Christ himself.

Recounting Moroni's description of the hidden treasure—a metallic, archaeological, and spiritual one—Joseph remembered:

> There were [Moroni had said] two stones in silver bowls—and these stones, fastened to a breastplate, constituted what is called the Urim and Thummim—deposited with the plates; and the possession and use of these stones were what constituted "Seers" in ancient or former times; and that God prepared them for the purpose of translating the book.

After telling me these things, he commenced quoting the prophecies of the Old Testament.

These prophecies, in addition to some in the New Testament, referred to the Book of Mormon and to the coming of Joseph Smith, Prophet, Seer, Revelator.

* * *

Such was the early spiritual history of the founder of Mormonism told 1 almost in his own words. There was much more to his early history than Joseph Smith could ever tell, but these are the original constituents of what is called Mormonism, the religion of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, the powerful conviction of over two million souls throughout the world. In various mythic forms, always subservient to Utah, often with the substitution of Brigham Young's name for that of Smith, and usually dominated

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1See his History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Period 1, History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet by Himself, edited by Brigham H. Roberts (2d ed., rev.; Salt Lake City, 1951), I, 1-12. Although printed in part during Smith's lifetime, this work was first published as a whole in 1902. Unless otherwise noted, all references are made to the latest edition (1951 ff.) under the short title History of the Church.
by jocose references to the "peepstones" and polygamy, the story of Mormonism has passed into American folklore and is one of the American folk myths which, like the colonial revolution and the career of the Great Emancipator, are familiar to foreigners.

Mormonism was born in the decade between the first vision of 1820 and the formal organization of the church by a handful of rural Yankees in 1830. But while the history of those ten years carries all the weight and significance of primeval events, Mormonism as a religious movement had not yet begun. No matter how necessary they are to the definition of Smith's movement, the visions, the baptisms, and even the early revelations, together with the historical context of revivalism in western New York belong only to what might be termed the pre-history of Mormonism. Only two main elements were present: the Prophet and his Book of Mormon; and as Mormonism entered its formative period after 1830, Smith fashioned the great theological and economic structure contained in about one hundred and thirty-three separate revelations from on High. Between 1833 and the year of his death (1844) he gathered these revelations into a volume known as the Doctrine and Covenants, a work that is far more important for the character of his movement than the Book of Mormon or even his own personality.

It was Joseph's revelations and not the Book of Mormon which set forth the means of salvation, which laid the basis for happiness, which appointed the millennial goal, and which, in sum, moulded the spirit and traced the lineaments of Mormonism. This is not to say that the Book of Mormon is to be dismissed; on the contrary, it is indispensable for any accurate definition of his movement. It provided a historical framework,

1One of the few Gentiles who clearly understood the prime position of the Doctrine and Covenants was John Quincy Adams, The Birth of Mormonism (Boston, 1916), 75.
an ancient past, and an imposing rationale for the edifice constructed by the revelations. Before examining this edifice—a communitarian one—we must first note the nature of the Book of Mormon and place it in its proper perspective, along with other "explanations" of Mormonism.

In a general way the Book of Mormon is patterned after the King James Bible, with a kind of Old Testament and a New Testament. It imitates the language and incidents of the Bible, but stands on its own feet as independently as a novel—with chapter divisions, an artistic unity, a complex plot (including flashbacks), and a fairly clear chronology. Its subject matter is also self-sustaining, for it purports to be a continuation of the Bible in that it traces the origin of the American Indians back to the lost tribes of Israel: a theory that was extremely popular in Smith's day. 1

Joseph first saw the famous gold plates from which he translated the Book of Mormon in 1823. It was not until 1827, after several other supernatural experiences, that the angel permitted him to take the plates and begin, with the aid of Urim and Thummim, the task of translating the "Reformed Egyptian" characters of the ancient record. He did this in about eighty days of intensive work, mostly at the home of his father-in-law in Harmony, Susquehanna county, Pennsylvania. By June, 1829 the English manuscript was completed and deposited with the printer in Palmyra, New York. When published

1 For more than a century before the Book of Mormon books had appeared presenting such an explanation of the Indians. See Friedrich Heinecke, Die Entstehung des Historismus (Munich, 1936). Two of several American books setting forth such a theory were Benjamin Smith Barton, New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America (Phila., 1797) and Elias Boudinot, A Star in the West; or A Humble Attempt to Discover the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel (Trenton, 1816). In the 1837's Caleb Atwater, one of the first to investigate the Indian mounds of Ohio, anticipated the later Mormon archaeological argument for the alleged existence in North and South America of civilized Indian ancestors of the lost tribes. See Verla Curti, The Growth of American Thought (2d ed.; New York, 1951), 285-286. For a detailed description of the historical context of the Book of Mormon see Fawn W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History; the Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet (New York, 1955), 35-80.
in 1830 its title page bore the unfortunate line, later changed, "By Joseph Smith, Jun., Author and Proprietor."

The book was essentially the story of certain Hebrew tribes stemming originally from a patriarch and prophet named Lehi. Lehi had, like Joseph's own father, six sons. Of these the beloved son and the most God-fearing was Nephi, who in some ways resembled the translator. Two other sons, Laman and Lemuel, were evil men full of sin.

In 600 B.C. Lehi led his family out of a Jerusalem threatened with destruction and sailed to America. When Lehi died, Nephi took his place and was soon faced with the enmity of his idolatrous brothers. The whole tribe—known as Nephites—which had followed Lehi to America now split into two parts: The Nephites proper, a "white and delightsome" people full of grace and virtue; and the evil Lamanites, the followers and descendants of Laman and Lemuel, whose iniquities brought a curse of God upon their seed, turning them into a people with dark red skins.

For nearly a thousand years these two tribes fought ferocious wars until finally, between 322 A.D. and 401 A.D., the red-skinned Lamanites exterminated the righteous Nephites. In 421 A.D. the last living Nephite, Moroni, "hid up" the sacred records of his tribe, inscribed on golden plates, in the hill Cumorah, near Manchester, New York.

The Book of Mormon also recounts the story of two other, less important, Hebrew migrations to America. In the very dawn of time Jared, a citizen of Babel, was commanded by the Lord to sail for America at the confusion of tongues. By about 585 B.C. the Jaredites had destroyed themselves, leaving one lone survivor, Coriantumr. In that same year another prophet, Mulek, left Jerusalem for America, found Coriantumr and eventually joined the Nephites—only to share their horrible fate at the hands of the red-skinned Lamanites.
When examined for internal evidences the Book of Mormon, by its anachronisms, by its veiled allusions to such things as the anti-Masonic frenzy of the late 1820's in western New York, assumes the aspect of a work written not before 521 B.C. but after 1827 A.D. Smith's career, his description of the origin of the Book of Mormon and the contents of the work all have explanations immediately apparent to any serious student of American history. A secret conspiratorial air about the visions, the unusual meetings, the secret orders from Moroni (which if violated meant death), buried secret instructions—all these, for example, certainly belong to the era of Gothic tales, of secret societies, and of the Anti-Masonic Movement as they were transmuted in the imagination of a young boy.

Joseph Smith was a facile sympotist who took his ideas where he found them, and he could always find them when they were needed for his movement. This religious and psychological sensitivity was already apparent in his childhood. From early adolescence to young manhood his family's religious heritage exerted a strong influence on his spiritual development. A favorite son of his pious parents, he imbibed a religious outlook which was an expression of revolt against both the older Calvinistic orthodoxy and the newer proliferation of sects and backwoods revivalism. He acquired a profound contempt for "the sectarians," a Mormon term of opprobrium for other forms of Christianity which has survived to this day. In 1834, about three years after he had left New York for his great successes in Ohio and Missouri, the first Mormon newspaper exclaimed:

With all the reformations the nineteenth century produces, or can produce, the sectarians will leave the world in no better condition than they found it—divided, distracted, confused, with parties, strifes, contentions, tumults, envyings, persecutions.1

1Evening and Morning Star (Independence, Missouri, and Kirtland, Ohio), II, 326, 342 (1834).
Disillusioned, like his parents and grandparents before him, with the kind of New England orthodoxy represented by Jonathan Edwards (and his successors in western New York), Joseph Smith was seeking more reason and less emotionalism in religion. He wanted that assurance of religious truth that is called authority.

It is natural and right to conclude from all this that, in a general way, Mormonism was a product of New England. But there were several "New Englands," then as now. The question arises: a product of which New England?

* * *

While it is reasonable enough to describe Mormonism as a typical product of the New England backcountry, such an assertion discourages research into the "obvious." For was not Mormonism obviously just another example of New England antinomianism? Was it not really a reassertion of Calvinist (Puritan) spirit? Was not New England patently the home par excellence of utopian communities, both secular and religious?

Answers to such questions as these are too general to make sense of Mormonism; and such terms as "New England" and "the West," invariably left undefined, result in gross distortions of American history. Without embarking on any detailed or exotic analysis of such formidable terms, one may at least offer working definitions of these two overworked concepts; for insofar as definitions of New England and the West are used to explain both

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1Professor Whitney R. Cross includes both Arminians and predestinarians among these successors. Cf. Buried-over District (Ithaca, N.Y., 1950), 27-28.

2F. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 19. Joseph's mother, Lucy Mack Smith, was an important exception to this rationalistic strain. But even in her antinomianism there was a practical streak leading her to conceive of God as an intimate, benevolent, almost homely being. Ibid., 5. For Joseph's family background see Brodie, li, 5, 7, 12-15, and 19.

3For a classic modern statement of this point of view see Bernard De Voto, "The Centennial of Mormonism," American Mercury, XIX (Jan., 1930), 2; and below, page 13, note 1.
Mormonism and communitarianism, they must be confronted.

It will be here maintained that physically New England in the 1820's did not extend more than a few miles west of the Hudson; and that western New York (including the Burned-over District) constituted "new country," or New England's frontier.

No such neat and traditional definition is available for the related notion of a "New England Mind." This study will think of the New England Mind as a certain set of attitudes: perfectionism, idealism, moralism, humanitarianism, insistence on the value of education, a certain exclusiveness, a peculiarly powerful will, an independence of mind. Even this description of the New England Mind is too general to fit the boundaries just assigned to it; and it is therefore inadequate, as will be shown below, for explaining the rise of Mormonism.

The concept of the American West is closely related to that of New England, for New England long had its own west. In the 1820's the Burned-over District of western New York, where Joseph Smith made his first converts, was the western frontier of New England—and of the New England Mind. It is difficult enough to draw a physical border around New England, but when the word "mind" is added to New England, that is, when cultural values are stated and an organic society is posited, then the concept of New England becomes even more labile. For the purposes of this thesis the New England Mind will be thought of as extending through western New York, where it was subtly diluted.

The word West is here understood in the sense of its settlers, who

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2A coherent analysis of the difficulty of defining New England may be found in Pierson, "The Obstinate Concept of New England," 3-17.
called it "new country." New country meant not only a sparse population in a relatively primitive economy, but also the rude institutional forms so closely associated with the frontier areas before the coming of the railroads. Among these institutional forms were the "churches of the dispossessed" which have persisted to this day wherever rootless, unsettled social conditions exist. Such religious groups thrived in the west. The refinements of polished eastern society (to use the words of Joseph Smith himself) were slow in establishing their influence. And orthodox religion was one of those refinements. Mormonism, an unorthodox sect, was born in the west.

This assertion that Mormonism arose in the west is not a gratuitous attempt to raise the hackles of all who are opposed to the frontier interpretation of American history. It is based on the history of early Mormon communitarianism and on the definitions of the West and of New England given above. Sometimes the oversimplification of spatial and regional concepts leads historians to fly in the face of indisputable historical fact. We are therefore left with the task of examining the specific historical conditions, persons, and beliefs that were associated with the rise of Mormonism in New England's west.

* * *

Recent students of Mormonism have been led to assume and agree (1) that western New York was neither a new country nor a cultural backwash in the 1820's; (2) that Mormonism arose in the east because most of its "personnel" was drawn from New England and from Europe; and (3) that Mormon polity and doctrine were eastern in origin. These three conclusions were conveniently summed up by Professor Whitney R. Cross:

Neither the organization of the church, nor its personnel, nor its doctrines were frontier products. All belonged to that Yankee, rural, emotionalized, and rapidly maturing culture which characterized
western New York so markedly in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.¹

These conclusions represent an extreme reaction against the loose spatial concepts of Frederick Jackson Turner. But in rushing to cut down Turner these critics have fallen on their own swords. In speaking of frontier conditions and of "New England," two scholars have used their terms so carelessly that they came to wildly opposite conclusions. According to one New England (and sectaries) is western New York; to the other, New England (and orthodoxy) lies somewhere between Tunbridge, Vermont, and Utrecht.

¹According to Cross, Joseph Smith was a relatively "staid" Yankee who protested the exotic enthusiasm that seared the area around Palmyra and who sought a less orgiastic, true religion. In so doing he provided authoritative answers which satisfied the credulous needs of his excited, predominantly New England followers. Cross, The Burned-over District, 9, 11-13, 143-150.

This theory of the origins of Mormonism in an otherwise admirable monograph smacks of geographical diffusionism in its loose treatment of Mormon ideas. That part of it which maintains that Joseph sought authority may be readily admitted. But he did not find it in either the myriad "sectarians" of western New York or, as will be shown, in the older "Calvinistic" orthodoxy.

Cross was also confused in setting the physical limits of New England. Generally he assumes the Burned-over District to be part of New England; but on page 79, for example, he does not. Where does the "frontier" begin and "New England" end?

If, as Cross states, the people affected by the sectarian frenzies around Palmyra were predominantly and typically New Englanders, then Joseph Smith merely becomes another heretical enthusiast in the Burned-over District—a "relatively staid" enthusiast. In reality, Joseph rejected the contentious revivalisms of western New York by preaching a new authority. And he moved quickly to suppress in his movement, not always successfully, all manner of revivalist seizures, barking fits, and spirits. See The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Containing Revelations given to Joseph Smith, the Prophet, with some Additions by his Successors in the Presidency of the Church (Salt Lake City, 1921), section 52. This volume, hereinafter cited as D & C, is the latest official edition of Joseph's revelations. Its text is divided into sections and verses.

If, on the other hand, as David Brion Davis would have it, the "typical" New Englander was one who followed the orthodoxy of Massachusetts or of Holland, then Palmyra, New York, a hotbed of heresy, was not part of New England; and thus Joseph Smith becomes a true New Englander bringing the balm of the old, authoritative, "Puritan" orthodoxy to heal the burns of western New York. See David Brion Davis, "The New England Origins of Mormonism," New England Quarterly, XXVI (June, 1953), 148-49, 153-54, 162.
Holland.

It seems historically certain that Joseph Smith repudiated both sectarianism and orthodoxy. He represented neither the New Englander-as-orgiast nor the New Englander-as-Puritan. If either of these two extremes were "characteristic of the Burned-over District"—or of Holland—they never became characteristic of Mormonism.

Turning from spatial clichés to the actual historical conditions, one finds that western New York was, if not a complete wilderness, certainly a primitive area: a frontier of New England. Western New York was "new country" to its settlers.

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1The first position is that of Cross, Burned-over District, 9, 11-13, 11-150; the second, that of Davis, "The New England Origins of Mormonism," 11-14, 153-54, 154-55. Back of the preoccupation of Cross and Davis with the frontier stands the figure of William Warren Sweet, who was 'the leading exponent of the frontier interpretation of American church history. See Sidney E. Mead, "Professor Sweet's Religion and Culture in America: A Review Article," Church History, XXII (March, 1953), 39. Mead also reflects the professional uncertainty concerning the development of Mormonism. He asserts that "while utopias and communitarianism thrived in the west, yet, with the questionable exception of Mormonism, what John Humphrey Noyes called the 'male element in the production of them'—the driving ideas—almost without exception originated east of the Alleghenies and most of them in Europe." Mead also notes that "in the nineteenth century" Mormonism drew most of its converts from Europe.

Mead has fallen into an important and unavoidable error of fact as to eastern or "European" influences. He had in mind the English converts to Mormonism; but it so happens that the first mission to England was not sent until 1837, and the first large groups of Englishmen arrived after 1840. Since Mormonism had almost reached its final form by this late date, it is difficult to see how the Englishmen could have released their "male" procreative drives. As will appear below, foreign converts did exercise an important influence after 1840 but it was not mere. For the most part they strengthened a set of ideas already imbedded in Mormonism.

Mormonism was importantly, but temporarily, influenced by orgiastic behavior in Ohio. See below, pp. 53, 77.

3By counting taverns, libraries, and industries in Canandaigua, Manchester, and Palmyra and ignoring the rest of western New York, Mrs. Fawn Brodie makes this area seem more civilized than it was. But taverns on the frontier often preceded the settlers. The libraries were too scarce and rudimentary to deserve the name—they were the New Englander's brave gestures against the woods that surrounded him. Such industries as sawmills were often built before there was adequate housing. See Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 9-10.
received his first vision, was not the wolf-infested wilderness pictured by older historians of Mormonism; the immediate countryside dominated by the tiny towns of Canandaigua, Manchester, and Palmyra was relatively settled. But these three towns were islands in a sea of trees. Canandaigua was one of the two oldest and therefore most "settled" towns in western New York—a fact which only emphasized the real disparity between it and the vast area around it. As for Palmyra and Manchester, their settled nature was that of typical frontier towns, for they grew artificially as a result of speculation based on the possibility that a canal would open up this new country: De Witt Clinton's bill for the construction of the Erie canal had already been passed in 1817. Like scores of other frontier boom towns they practically died when the more strategic sites at Buffalo and Rochester were developed.

The completion of the Erie canal in 1825 did not suddenly populate 2 western New York in one burst. The growth of a more settled town-farm culture was more noticeable in some areas than in others. The notion that all of western New York was a mature area is based on the fallacy that the frontier was a "cutting edge." Rather, like all frontiers, the frontier of New England expanded like tongues and droplets of water thrown on a waxy surface.

Most of the residents of western New York in the 1820's thought of the area as a frontier. In 1826 a group of Norwegian pioneers, some of whom later became the leaders of the great Mormon missions to Scandinavia, unsuccessfully attempted to settle a wild area in Orleans county—"new country" they called it—just a few miles from Manchester. 3 That same year a

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1Cross, Burned-over District, 39. It was therefore unfair of Cross to take this town as typical of the "mature" character of western New York.

2Cross, Burned-over District, 59.

3Mario S. DePillis (ed.), "Still More Light on the Kendall Colony;
Shakeress at Sodus, Wayne county, wrote back to her superiors at New Lebanon: "The country is new here and but thinly inhabited . . . so scattering that it will make us a great deal of labor, likewise very bad roads, nearly as poor as they were in Savoy."¹ Six years later the presiding elders of her own community at Sodus complained of the improvident, lazy ways of the "people in this New Country."² As late as 1833 a broadside could advertise ten thousand acres of land for sale in Livingstone and Allegheny counties.³ By this time Joseph Smith had long since departed for the less settled wests of Ohio and Missouri.

From this excursion into the spaces of western New York we may conclude that the area was relatively unsettled in the 1820's and that the mentality of the people there reflected the raw conditions that prevailed. In this region Joseph Smith met his first success. Between 1825 and the publication of the Book of Mormon in 1830 he spent much of his time and made many conversions in the frontier counties to the north and south of Manchester.⁴

¹Polly Lawrence to the New Lebanon Ministry, May 23, 1826, Shaker ms. WRHS.
²Letter from the Elders in Sodus to the Ministry at New Lebanon, Sodus, Mar. 28, 1832, Shaker ms. WRHS.
⁴Compare Whitney R. Cross's maps on pages 58 and 117 of the Burned-over District. Joseph Smith's wanderings may be traced in the History of the Church, volume I.

To write, as Cross did, that Smith's peregrinations "when he was pregnant with the new religion (were) always eastward" (p. 116), is to tear down a straw man. It naively assumes that the westward direction in itself defines a frontier. Cross himself shows that the New York frontier lay in the south and to a surprising extent in the east (pp. 59, 72, 76).

It is interesting to note that Professors Mead and Cross are in such close agreement that Mead's "male" drives in the east find their metaphorical
He himself later described the environment of his early career as a "wilder-
ness."

An analysis of the geography of Mormonism, while unavoidable, still
does not prove anything about the genesis of the movement. We must there-
fore turn to the two remaining conclusions of recent scholarship, namely,
that Mormon "personnel" came from the east and that Mormon polity and do-
ctrine originated in the east.

* * *

Who were the people who gathered into the lands of their inheritance
in the 1830's? Did New England supply the personnel and thus stamp the
traits of the New England Mind on the movement?

One must be perfectly clear as to time and place in answering these
questions. Before 1830, when the Book of Mormon was published and the church
formally organized, there was no such movement as "Mormonism." There was
only a prehistory consisting mainly of visions. Converts did not number
more than a dozen persons in 1829, most of them relatives of Joseph Smith.
Between 1830 and 1837 most converts came from rural areas of the north with
a few from such southern states as Mississippi and Tennessee. In these years
most of the northern converts were made in western New York and northern
Ohio—that strip of level land on the southern shores of Lakes Ontario and
Erie which provided the favorite route for the Yankee exodus to the west.
The Prophet's family drifted along this route for many years, always just a
step behind the pioneers. After 1837 most converts came from Europe.

That the personnel of a religious movement are responsible for its
classification in Cross's "pregnant" Joseph Smith in the west. See above,
character is an assertion that is generally true but always open to question.

[This text continues with some references and notes.]
In the case of Mormonism it may be doubted that the seeding of church membership with New Englanders (from western New York or eastern Massachusetts) was as extensive and influential in the formation of Mormonism as scholars have believed.

First of all, Mormonism before 1837 was the achievement, to a greater extent than most movements, of its early leaders: Joseph Smith and his trusted advisor Sidney Rigdon. Smith's ideas represented a departure from the New England way. Rigdon, who was probably responsible for the introduction of the high priesthood, was a native of western Pennsylvania with roots that go deep into the Presbyterian and Baptist soil of the upper Ohio valley.

Secondly, while the New Englanders of western New York supplied most of the members between 1830 and 1837, the most important single group, from the point of view of doctrinal development, were followers of Rigdon. These "Rigdonites" were converted in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831, at which time they numbered perhaps more than the whole Mormon church in the Palmyra region of western New York. Like Rigdon himself, many of the Rigdonites had come up the Mahoning valley from western Pennsylvania and they deeply influenced the basic patterns of early Mormonism. Before 1837 several Rappites, apostates from the famous German utopian community near Pittsburgh, also joined the Mormons at Kirtland—together with many other Pennsylvanians. After 1837 so many Englishmen and Scandinavians joined the church that they soon outnumbered the Americans—and the full flowering of Mormon doctrine came after 1837. It is thus most dangerous to attribute the shape of Mormonism to its New England personnel.

Moreover, the attitude of the New Englanders themselves toward Mormonism was by no means enthusiastic. Brigham Young, the most successful of the Mormon missionaries, met stubborn resistance among the New
Englanders. There was something in Mormonism that ran against the grain of New England—as indeed it ran against the grain of certain European countries—Scotland, France, and Italy. At one point at least half the "Yankee members" of the church apostatized, because, allagedly, their avurice and sense of economic independence led them to rebel against the development of communitarian ideas in Ohio and Missouri. Contemporary statements reveal that such an antipathy would be natural in New England. Eber D. Howe, who compiled the first history of Mormonism, wrote that

many, even in the New England States, after hearing the frantic story of some of these "elders," would forthwith place their all into a waggon, and wend their way to the "promised land," in order, as they supposed, to escape the judgments of Heaven, which were soon to be poured out upon the land. The State of New York, they were privately told, would most probably be sunk, unless the people thereof believed in the pretensions of Smith.

It is noteworthy that Howe feels obliged to say "even in the New England States"—that is, New England would naturally oppose Smith's pretensions. Further, the "many" New Englanders seem to come from western New York. For Howe, at least, New England extended to the shores of Lake Erie.

When in 1831 Smith and other elders visited Zion (Missouri), they carelessly left some papers and letters behind which outlined the communitarian future of Mormonism. Symonds Ryder, a prominent Yankee convert from the Campbellite faith, immediately apostatized and expressed a New England horror at the direction his briefly held faith was taking. He later commented: "This [Incident] gave their new converts an opportunity to become

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1 W. R. Werner, Brigham Young (New York, 1925), 89, 90.


3 Eber D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled or a Faithful Account of Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time (Painesville, Ohio, 1834), 115-116. Italics in the original.
acquainted through the documents with the internal arrangement of their church, which revealed to them the horrid fact that a plot was laid to take their property from them and place it under the control of Joseph Smith the prophet." Kindred "duces," he continued, thereupon tarred and feathered Smith and Sidney Rigdon in March, 1832. 1

In the final analysis it was more than economic dissatisfaction and independence of mind that alienated so many New Englanders. It was what an exasperated missionary to western New York cursed as "the traditions of the fathers and the iron yoke of priesthood which have so corrupted the minds of the citizens." These sentiments were echoed further east by a missionary preaching in the stiffnecked state of Connecticut, the "land of steady habits." Of the hopeless situation in New Haven and New England generally he wrote:

There has been a little preaching here before, but great is the prejudice of the people here, this is the emporium of learning for all America, the stronghold of Presbyterianism. (Old Yale College is here) .. more Priests are made here than any other place in the union and Doctors & Lawyers are turned out by the hundred & C. 3

The Prophet himself noted of his visit to Salem, Massachusetts, that the whole surrounding area was one "rich in the history of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, in Indian warfare, religious superstition, bigotry, persecution, and learned ignorance." Below all the antinomian ferment, the

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2. Letter of Jonathan Dunman from Waterville, Oneida County, N.Y., Feb. 19, 1831, in the Journal History. The Journal History is a looseleaf collection of clippings, letters, and similar materials in the office of the Church Historian, Salt Lake City.


4. History of the Church, II, 564. See also II, 242.
powerful traditionalism of New England and the learning associated with it tolerated only so much ultraism and no more. In this same region hostility against the despised Universalists and the hated Mormons drove the two sects into friendly relations. ¹

It is reasonable to say, then, that Mormonism made many influential converts outside of New England and that the attitude of New Englanders in general toward Mormonism was, to say the least, ambivalent. No one can deny that Joseph Smith carried in his mental baggage many an article from the East. And no one can really discount the West or the "frontier" as an important factor.

Early Mormonism was not the simple product of the frontier, of manifest destiny, of New England, or of Brigham Young. It was a composite of various forces encountered during the wild hegira from Palmyra to Ohio, to Missouri, to Illinois, and to Iowa. New social, political, and economic ideas helped feed Joseph's imagination and provided, directly or indirectly, materials and myths for his church. An examination of Mormon doctrine bears this out.

* * *

As we have seen, Joseph Smith hoped to establish the authority of what the Mormons called "the one true church" over against the theological potpourri of competing sects that surrounded him as a young man in Burned–over District. The Prophet hated the contentions and disunity of sectarianism. Indeed, the whole doctrinal development of Mormonism under the Prophet may be characterized as a successful quest for religious authority, a quest that Joseph Smith shared with many other rural Americans of his class.

¹Journal History, Feb. 19, 1841; Dec. 25–26, 1841. For the hostility against the Universalists see W. R. Cross, Burned–over District, 43–45. Similar temporary (and less important) bedfellows for the Mormons were the Masons and the Catholics.
The mitosis of churches, or what Kenneth Scott Latourette has called the "fissiparous genius of Protestantism," is the classic problem of Protestantism, stemming from a belief in the individual interpretation of Scriptures, bibliolatry, and a rejection of sacerdotal authority. To oversimplify, it may be said that there are three modes of establishing a theological claim to being the one true teaching church: apostolic succession, miracles, and "gifts" (as signs of divine approbation), and special revelations. With certain modifications the Prophet used all three methods. Since apostolic succession was Roman and alien, he turned to a more familiar source of Protestant tradition—the Old Testament: he would claim a prophetic succession through a dual priesthood that allegedly existed among the Hebrews. Miracles and gifts he used discretely and sparingly; ambitious miracles, such as his attempt to raise a dead infant, were likely to fail. As for special revelations, they were central to the establishment of authority and Joseph adopted them even before the church was organized (1830); his mother, with her antinomian predilections for special inspiration, encouraged him to see visions and revelations. Joseph believed that his revelations and the "lost" books which he added to the Bible constituted

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2The Mormons became quite sensitive to the accusation that they had glossed over apostolic succession. See Henry Caswall, City of the Mormons; or, Three Days at Nauvoo, in 1842 (2d ed., rev. & enl.; London, 1843), 17, 39, 42. Caswall, an Anglican minister, taunted them concerning this traditional touchstone, for he knew that it could not be reconciled with the story of early Christianity given in the Book of Mormon. For the Roman Catholic Church the "marks" of the one true church are traditionally four: it is one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.

3The Prophet, Jan. 4, 1845, p. 1, col. 1.

4F. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 121, 112.

5For revelation in general as a source of authority, see Parley P. Pratt, A Voice of Warning (New York, 1837), 119.
the "fulness of the Gospel." In short, while using some of its doctrines, Joseph rejected Protestantism as well as Calvinism; he claimed to bring an entirely "new dispensation." "Truth," he later said, "is Mormonism. God is the author of it."¹ This special status of Mormonism as a fourth major religion is generally accepted in American society.²

The idea of a religious authority established by means of prophetic succession and direct revelation originated not in the Book of Mormon but in the mind of Joseph Smith. The almost quaint historical foundation, or authority, supplied by that book was of little practical use to the Prophet in defining the polity and doctrine of the new religion. Even the uneducated agrarians who had read it seemed to sense this; for they usually felt compelled to visit the Prophet and hear what was concretely required of them for salvation. At first the Prophet had little to offer them beyond baptism and his own impressive personality. Many heard him preach but not more than three or four dozen had embraced the gospel by early 1831—eleven years after Smith's first vision and six months after the publication of the Book of Mormon.

Converts soon discovered that Mormon polity and doctrine would consist of what God revealed through Joseph Smith, month by month, in direct revelations. It was Smith's revulsion against the sectarianism of the Burned-over District and his consequent quest for a new source of authority that made direct revelations necessary. And it was in the newer wests of Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois that most of the doctrine and much of the polity took form.

¹History of the Church, III, 297.

²This separate position of Mormonism achieved a kind of quasi-official recognition in a film used in the Democratic party convention of 1956 and shown on nationwide television networks.
In spite of these facts students of Mormonism have assumed for almost a hundred and thirty years that the religion sprang full blown from the brain of Joseph Smith in the form of the Book of Mormon. This myth may be traced back to a single sentence in a book published in 1832, a sentence that may be found quoted in almost every work touching upon early Mormonism. In that year Rev. Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Campbellites, or "Reformed Baptists," published Delusions, the first serious, critical analysis of the Book of Mormon. Campbell wrote that the Mormon bible had provided final answers to every theological problem of the day:

... infant baptism, ordination, the trinity, regeneration, repentance, justification, the fall of man, the atonement, transubstantiation, fasting, penance, church government, religious experience, the call to the ministry, the general resurrection, eternal punishment, who may baptize, and even the question of freemasonry (sic), republican government and the rights of man.

This was the bitter attack of a man who had lost his best preacher, Sidney Rigdon, to Joseph Smith's new religion and who resented being identified as a friend to Mormonism. Not a single one of these many "answers" was more than hinted at in the Book of Mormon. The Prophet gave his answers—answers which diverged from the Book of Mormon—in the form of nearly one hundred revelations issued after 1830 in accordance with his extraordinary "responsiveness to the provincial opinions of his time." So great were his doctrinal departures from the Book of Mormon that one heretical offshoot of the church called the Whitmerites made opposition to such changes their chief point of doctrine. And the justice of the Whitmerite position is well attested by

1Alexander Campbell, Delusions. An Analysis of the Book of Mormon ... and a Refutation of Its Pretences to Divine Authority (Boston, 1832), 13. The title is an allusion to 2 Thes. 2:11.

2F. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 69, 86.

3David Whitmer, An Address to All Believers in Christ. By a Witness to the Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon (Richmond, Mo., 1887), 4, 50.
the evolution of the main elements of Mormonism between 1830 and 1844: church government, the nature of God, and the nature (the fall) of man. A brief discussion of each of these three elements shows that Mormonism was mainly a product of these later years.

Mormon church government was based on two priesthods, the Priesthood of Aaron and the Priesthood of Melchizedek. This dual priesthood provided a sacerdotal authority for the latter-day gospel, and between 1830 and 1844 the Prophet organized and elaborated a whole hierarchy of offices founded on this dual priesthood. The dual priesthood not only developed outside of and after the Book of Mormon, it also came in answer to specific needs. The first need arose even before the Book of Mormon was finished—from the skepticism of Oliver Cowdery, one of the Prophet’s scribes in the translating of the golden plates: Cowdery pointed out that the Book of Mormon did not provide the "keys," or authority, for performing baptism. A second need was to correct an inaccuracy in the Book of Mormon concerning the authority to ordain: the Book of Mormon had implied that all elders could ordain priests and teachers.

Cowdery’s skepticism was immediately overcome by a vision in which John the Baptist, in the form of an angel, conferred upon the two chosen ones the lower Priesthood of Aaron, with authority to baptize the first converts to the new faith. Thereupon, in the spring of 1829, Smith and Cowdery baptized one another in the chilly Susquehanna river and became the first members of the church.

A year later the Book of Mormon was published and the little church of less than thirty persons—most of them closely related—was formally

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1I have provided a more detailed and fully documented discussion of the dual priesthood in Appendix IV, "The Origin and Development of the Dual Priesthood."
organized. The Prophet issued a revelation on church government which outlined the duties of elders, priests, teachers, and deacons, and the manner of baptism. Later in the year he hinted that the second or higher Priesthood of Melchizedek would be necessary for the ordination of members to these various offices.

By June, 1831 the rapid growth of his church in Ohio persuaded the Prophet to announce that the Lord had restored the "keys" of the higher Priesthood of Melchizedek after a lapse of about 1900 years. Now no mere elder was permitted to ordain, but only "High Priests after the order of Melchizedek." The Prophet may have been encouraged to make this announcement by an influential new Ohio convert named Sidney Rigdon.

Between 1830 and 1834 the Prophet issued many revelations which greatly elaborated the two priesthoods of Aaron and Melchizedek. In 1832 he provided them with a genealogy or "succession" going back to Adam and Aaron, respectively—though it is more likely that they were inspired by two books published by one Rev. James Gray in Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1810 and 1821. That same year he made the dual priesthood indispensable for personal salvation and for the salvation of the world. In 1835 the Prophet greatly elaborated the biblical background of the higher priesthood and its manifold relations to all other offices. By 1841 the high priesthood was the most important institution of church government. And toward the end of his life the Prophet seemed to be clothing it with the power of binding and loosing of sins.

It is apparent that the dual priesthood, which was the foundation of church government, arose outside of, and mostly after the Book of Mormon. And it arose as a result of specific needs confronting the young Prophet.

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1History of the Church, I, 64-79, 84. 2D & C, 20.
In logical order skepticism over the Book of Mormon had to be overcome, converts made and baptized, and leaders ordained. All this involved the question of authority—an important rubric in Mormon catechisms to this day. As for the particular doctrines connected with the dual priesthood, chiefly baptism and ordination, they were widely expanded and elaborated as the church moved westward, as it grew in numbers, and as it encountered everywhere persons and printed matter which cannot be identified solely with the New England Mind.

* * *

Even more important than church government as evidence for the development of Mormonism outside of the Book of Mormon after 1830 are the doctrines concerning the nature of God and man and the United Order of Enoch.

The God of Mormonism was not Calvinistically and unpredictably stern. He was, as Joseph's mother had taught him, friendly, immediately present, easily consulted, and—to one who reads the revelations—knowledgeable and down-to-earth. To the older New England the ways and "providences" of God were inscrutable. To a rebellious son of New England living in an age of secret societies with strange signs and special ceremonies, God was quite scrutable—but only to those who were initiated. Some Mormons know more than others and the one who knew most was the Prophet, who acted as the very medium of God's revelations. These revelations are only the most obvious kind of evidence for the knowableness of the Mormon God. The stalwart Apostle Parley P. Pratt demonstrated in his Autobiography how the minutest occurrence

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1 F. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 6-7.

2 Ibid., p. 141, n. 2. It is doubtful that the Prophet veiled his actions in the particular incident which Mrs. Brodie cites here, but some Saints thought so. The well-known fact that the Prophet permitted only a select group of Saints to know the spiritual wife doctrine (polygamy) may also be noted.
could clearly and indubitably reveal the scrutable will of God and how those
closest to the Prophet enjoyed the completest understanding of the Divine
Will.

God was not only knowable; he was material and plural. There are
three persons in the Godhead. A revelation of the Lord given in 1843
stated that of these three the Father and the Son have bodies "of flesh and
bones as tangible as man's." 1 The Holy Ghost is less important than the
Father and the Son; he is a spirit, but still matter—more finely divided.
A few days later another revelation put it bluntly: "There is no such thing
as immaterial matter." 2 But these are not the only Gods, said the Prophet
in a sermon. There are others far above them 3 and man, below them, can
attain equality with the Gods and rule kingdoms. God himself was a man in
the beginning with Adam. He had risen to a high position in heaven, as
indeed every American of that egalitarian period hoped to do on earth.

Mormonism as it evolved between Kirtland, Ohio, and Nauvoo, Illinois,
also rejected the preeminence of faith over works. The Evening and Morning
Star comes, said the editor of this first Mormon newspaper, "to declare that
goodness consists in doing good, not merely in preaching it . . . all men's
religion is vain without charity." 4 The allusion, of course, is to what
Luther called the "straw epistle": James, chapters one and two. But charity
did not drive the Mormon into a philosophy of supererogation. He

3George F. Partridge (ed.), "Death of a Mormon Dictator; Letters of
Massachusetts Mormons, 1843-1844," New England Quarterly, IX (Dec., 1936),
594. The doctrine caused many to apostatize.
4"King Follett Discourse," a funeral sermon given in 1844 and
60-62 and also D & C, 132: 29, 37 (1843). Joseph had hinted at the plu-
rality of Gods as early as 1832 (D & C, 76: 58).
5Evening and Morning Star, I, 7 (June, 1832).
wholeheartedly accepted the worldly "creature" (earthly pleasure) that had plagued the old Calvinist conscience. The most reliable student of Mormon religious ideas makes much of this acceptance:

The paradise of the prophet had much of the earth in it. Joseph had the poor man's awe of gold, and it crept into his concept of heaven. When God would descend to the holy city, he said paraphrasing Isaiah, "for brass he will bring gold, and for iron he will bring silver; and ... the feast of fat things will be given to the just." And when the lost tribes of Israel streamed forth at last from the North countries to join the Saints, they too would be laden with jewels and gold.

Mormon theology was never burdened with otherworldliness. There was a fine robustness about it that smelled of the frontier and that rejected an asceticism that was never endemic to America. The poverty, sacrifice, and suffering that dogged the Saints resulted largely from clashes with their neighbors over social and economic issues. Though they may have glared in their adversity, they certainly did not invite it. Wealth and power they considered basic among the blessings both of earth and of heaven, and if they were to be denied them in this life, then they must assuredly enjoy them in the next.1

While some may cavil at the use of the "frontier" here, it is a far more dubious endeavor to see a kind of anti-liberal "puritanism" that "shaped" Mormonism in the east and to state that Mormonism "was nearly extinguished on the frontier."2 Mormonism was, if anything, a moderate, liberal revolt. Like Transcendentalism on its higher plane, Mormonism avoided the extremes both of Unitarianism and Calvinism.

Theologically, Joseph Smith's moral and physical departure from New England may be summed up in the second and tenth "articles of faith," which were not formulated until 1841.3 Article Two explicitly rejected the old

1 F. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 187-188. The most famous of the heavenly pleasures was the retention of one's earthly spiritual wives.

2 D. B. Davis, "The New England Origins of Mormonism," 153-154, 162. Davis is locked in combat with "frontier historians who say that Mormon theology is mostly absurd and meaningless, but can be explained as a Western revolt against Calvinism" (p. 153).


4 See James E. Talmage, The Articles of Faith (Salt Lake City, 1901). This (in its various editions) is the official church statement of the Articles.
Puritan maxim that in "Adam's fall we sinned all." Not only had God become predictable, but the Calvinistic view of man as a sin-laden worm was replaced by an individualistic Arminian who "will be punished for his own sins and not for Adam's transgression" (Article Two). Article Ten insured the fact that these optimistic Americans, by "gathering" in the "lands of their inheritance," were to move west.

One must conclude from this essay into Mormon Vorgeschichte that Alexander Campbell's description of Mormonism on the basis of the Book of Mormon, a description avidly accepted by anti-Frontier historians over a century later, was grotesquely premature. As for organization or church government, that was built on the dual priesthood described above. The primitive officialdom of the Palmyra years—Priests, Teachers, Deacons—were incorporated into the lesser, or Aaronic, priesthood. The high offices of the High Council, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the Patriarch, the Seventies, and the First Presidency all arose after 1830-31.

When one speaks of early Mormonism, a particular sect is meant, a group with special doctrines. Much of what is peculiar to Mormon doctrine developed west of—or better—after Palmyra. The Book of Mormon of Palmyra days was anti-Masonic; in Far West, Missouri and Nauvoo, Illinois, Joseph became more Masonic than the Masons. The earlier, Book of Mormon doctrine of baptism for the remission of sins, little different from that of neighboring Free Will Baptists, was metamorphosed in Nauvoo by the teaching that baptism could be accepted after death. Indeed, it was not until the Far West

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1D. B. Davis, "The New England Origins of Mormonism," 153, 155; Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-over District, 115. The most thorough historian of early Mormonism also quotes the Campbell litany, but does not state that the doctrines listed were Mormon doctrines. They merely reflect, like the anti-Masonic elements, the fiery issues of the Burned-over District in the 1820's. F. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 69.

and Nauvoo period of Mormon history (1839-1844) that Mormon theology came to its "full flowering." The greatest of the official Mormon Church Historians, Brigham H. Roberts, once wrote that no one could understand the wondrousness of his faith without a knowledge of this "essentially . . . formative" period: "It was in Nauvoo that Joseph Smith reached the summit of his remarkable career. It was in Nauvoo he grew bolder in the proclamation of those doctrines, which stamp Mormonism as the great religion of the age." It was in Nauvoo that Joseph taught the "higher and more complex doctrines of Mormonism"—baptism for the dead, the functions of the priesthood, the correct methods of spiritual exegesis, the vision of the three degrees of glory, the kingdom of God, the time of the coming of the Son of God, the resurrection of the dead, the being and nature of God (His "materiality," the "plurality of Gods"), the immortality of matter, the spirit prison, and many others.

In general, then, we may conclude that Mormonism in the 1820's consisted chiefly in visions and the Book of Mormon; it was not yet a religious movement. The first locus of Mormonism was western New York, a western frontier in the 1820's. This west, the west of New England, was an environment that especially favored the growth of sectarianism and thus of Mormonism. All but some twenty-odd converts to Mormonism were made after 1830 and New Englanders formed an increasingly small proportion of such converts. Residents of the more anciently settled parts of New England opposed Mormonism. It cannot be said that the New England converts to Mormonism shaped the movement. Finally, the body of Mormon doctrine did not come from the Book of

\[1\text{Ibid., 277.}\]

\[2\text{Brigham H. Roberts, The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo (Salt Lake City, 1900), 17. Daryl Chase, another professing Mormon, echoes this in Joseph the Prophet (Salt Lake City, 1944), 74-75. See also the History of the Church, 111, 379-381, 386ff.}\]

\[3\text{Roberts, The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo, 165-215.}\]
Mormon or "from the east" before 1830 but from a variety of sources after 1830.

In fact, it may be asserted that the influence on early Mormonism of geographical milieu, of converts, and of ideas was more important after 1830. And the chief force acting upon the new movement was a combination of all three of these factors in the form of sectarian communitarianism.

Communitarianism flourished in the West. During the ferment of reform that exerted so much influence on the history of the United States between 1820 and 1850 two general types of communitarian socialism became prominent: first, the Christian communitarianism of many small American and European sects like the Shakers and the Rappites; and secondly, the secular communitarianism associated with the names of social reformers like Robert Owen (1771-1858) and François Marie Charles Fourier (1772-1837).

A sectarian community may be defined as a small society, voluntarily separated from the world, striving after perfection in its institutions, sharing many things in common, and usually making chiliastic claims. 1 Mormonism was, of course, a religious form of communitarianism, or what Professor Arthur Bestor calls "communitive sectarianism." Roughly speaking, the religious communities enjoyed their heyday before 1825, while the secular societies flourished after that date, especially in the 1840's.

That the less settled areas provided an ideal environment for utopian enterprises was common knowledge at the time. It was more than "free land"

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or the comparative isolation which drew them westward; it was also a mental conception of the West as an ideal setting for schemes of escape, an ideal psychological setting where communitarians would, and did, find their like.

Among the scores of utopias that dotted the American backwoods in the early nineteenth century the Mormons were unique in that not all the Latter-day Saints (Mormons) had to be formal members of the communal economic system. Moreover, Joseph Smith envisioned not a small, experimental community but a permanent one that was imperial in scope. In the final analysis the Mormons differed from other utopians mainly in that the Mormon community survived as a denomination while most of the others survived as neither denomination, nor sect, nor community.

It is very likely that the Prophet had been affected by communitarian ideas and attitudes even before he began translating the Book of Mormon. Western New York had already witnessed the rise of native, communist, millennial groups like those led by Jemina Wilkinson and Isaac Bullard, both of whom had wandered, as had the Smith family, from New England proper to the wilderness of western New York. While such groups had their brief days in the sun a bit too early to influence the young Prophet directly, he may well have visited the Shaker community at Sodus Bay, about thirty miles north of his home at Palmyra. 1 Utopian communities, especially those of the Shakers, aroused the most intense curiosity of outsiders, a curiosity that often ended in conversion. And during the 1820's communitarians of every stamp and degree showed a lively and not entirely academic interest in one another's programs and activities. 2

In a sense, the Prophet had no need to visit a community to learn


2A. E. Bestor, Backwoods Utopias; the Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829 (Phila., 1950), 42-51.
about the communitarian way. It was in the air about him. And his own
uncle, Jason Mack, was a "Seeker" who had set up a quasi-communist society
of thirty indigent families in Vermont. The Prophet's bizarre attempts at
philology and archaeology have led some to paint the false picture of a gross
"illiterate." But given his powerful fancy, his real intellectual curiosity,
his religious interests, and his reading, he could not have escaped the com-
munitarian background of his family and his environment.

It is sometimes suggested that this communitarian background cropped
up in the Book of Mormon. But that work did not suggest any communitarian
scheme. The Book of Mormon was a history of the Mormon past, not a program
or set of doctrines. It did not state the aims of the new movement. Joseph
Smith had not yet conceived of the City of Enoch, that millennial heart of
Mormonism which arose after 1830 and which shall be termed in these pages
Mormon communitarianism. Smith's concept of a new Zion developed, chiefly
through his revelations, after 1830. This communitarian plan, first revealed
in 1831, came to be known as the United Order of Enoch.

Communitarian ideas began to shape Smith's movement as early as 1830
in Kirtland, Ohio. There, a large number of recent converts were practicing
a version of early Christian communism (Cf. Acts 2 and 4) so personal and so
extreme in its demands that the Prophet promptly exorcised it. In 1831, he
replaced it with a set of ideas and institutions which came to be called,
from the divine revelation which commanded them, the "United Order of Enoch."

Unlike the purely communistic plans of most sectarian communities
this system permitted a certain freedom of enterprise. New members of the
church were expected to "consecrate" all their property to the church. In

1 W. R. Cross, Burned-over District, 30-36, 322-340.
2 F. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 14.
return they received an "inheritance." This usually consisted of a small farm or, in the case of artisans, tools. To keep his inheritance a steward, as he was called, was expected to return to the church all the yearly surplus of his farm above the needs of his own family. These annual consecrations provided a general fund for new inheritances.

During the 1830's the United Order developed into a kind of sectarian socialism for controlling the wealth of the Mormon community. During the rule of the Prophet wealth took chiefly the form of land—as in the country at large. Since the church usually owned such land, this Mormon practice has been called a system of "agrarian theocracy"¹ and under a wider definition of wealth has persisted to this day.

The development of the United Order of Enoch shows that what is called Mormonism was neither the pre-history of the 1820's as recounted above, nor an outgrowth of the Book of Mormon, nor the original creation of Brigham Young in the isolation of the Great Basin, nor, as will be further demonstrated, a simple effusion of the New England Mind. Rather, it was basically a composite of various utopian, communitarian forces in the American backwoods. After 1830 Joseph Smith's movement came to be centered in an ideal Millennial City variously termed the New Jerusalem, the City of Enoch, the Heavenly City, the Center Place, and Zion. This new Zion, like the Book of Mormon, had a plan, a rationale, commonly known as the United Order of Enoch. Smith not only gave Mormonism an ancient theological past—in the Book of Mormon—but a set of doctrines—in the Doctrine and Covenants—doctrines which governed this life and the next. The influence of these doctrines on the later history of Mormonism in Utah can scarcely be exaggerated.

¹Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village, A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement (Salt Lake City, 1952), 282. In 1960 the Church was reorganizing itsholdings. Perhaps the most significant step it has so far taken was the sale of its stock in the church-owned bank in Salt Lake City.
Contrary to general opinion it was Joseph Smith and not Brigham Young who shaped and stabilized Mormonism, and Smith accomplished this mainly after 1830 in his United Order of Enoch.

As used in this thesis, the term Mormon communitarianism includes the idea of cooperation, both economic and social. In a very loose sense cooperation exists in the most individualistic of societies, but for the Mormons it became a worn slogan and a dominating ideal—as it did in the more strictly economic Rochdale cooperatives of nineteenth-century England. It even permeated the ethics of Mormon group life. The great sins of non-cooperation were idleness, disloyalty to the group, and "monopoly," the last being an indecent hankering after personal property at the expense of the community.

Economic cooperation and salvation were closely connected. These two elements of Mormon communitarianism were fused in Zion's extraordinary sense of group consciousness, a psychological unity informed by the charismatic leadership of Joseph Smith and perennially enhanced by the idea of the "gathering" to Zion. This spirit of solidarity gained strength from, and survived, five removals because of persecution.

The deluge of anti-Mormon polemics has all but effaced the communitarian aspect of Mormonism by impugning the sincerity of believers, or, at best, by characterizing them as victims of a delusion. Thus, the communal purchase and distribution of land, the church-owned manufacturing cooperatives, and similar communitarian features of early Mormonism have been generally painted as schemes for filching the money of innocent converts or as the visionary and impractical programs of the Prophet. As a communitarian venture

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1Ephraim E. Ericksen, The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life (Chicago, 1922), 83. This is a curiously unhistorical but useful Pavlovian interpretation of Mormon communitarianism and its modern legacy of Mormon group action.
Mormonism has never been adequately studied. It will be the purpose of this thesis to study the genesis of Mormonism by telling the story of the United Order of Enoch against the larger background of American religious and social history. For the United Order can only be understood in terms of its environment: of related communities, of the ideological context, of American politics, of United Order leaders, of backcountry religions, and of the West as a special milieu.

* * *

The communitarians, as we have just pointed out, found the special psychological environment of the West very attractive. Benjamin Silliman, the scientist and early student of Shakerism, understood this when he noted that the great increase in communities "has been in the western states, occasioned by what is commonly called the Kentucky Revivals." But perhaps the conservative poet Robert Southey had the truest insight into the relation between religion and the frontier. In 1829, as (unknown to him) the Book of Mormon was nearing completion, he predicted:

Were there ANOTHER MOHAMMED to arise, there is no part of the world where he would find more scope, or fairer opportunity, than in THAT PART of the Anglo-American Union into which the elder States continually discharge the restless part of their population, leaving Laws and Gospel to overtake it if they can; for in the march of modern colonization both are left behind.  

For the conservative Southey the West represented "scope" for radicalism and danger to orthodoxy; for Joseph Smith himself the West meant hope and safety.

In defending the location of Zion the famous Mormon apostle Parley P.

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1The only adequate account of Mormonism as a communitarian movement is that of Leonard J. Arrington: "Early Mormon Communitarianism: the Law of Consecration and Stewardship," Western Humanities Review, VII (1952-53), 341-369.

2Peculiarities of the Shakers (New York, 1832), 49.

3Epigraph in Henry Caswall, Prophet of the Nineteenth Century (London, 1843) and taken from Robert Southey, Sir Thomas More: or Colloquies, ... on Society (2 vols.; London, 1829), II, 14. The capitals were inserted by Caswall.
Pratt wrote in 1838:

God has provided the great West as a refuge . . . . Indeed, our revelations are backed by the political papers of the Eastern cities. They give the same advice now which the Lord gave seven years ago, namely, that those who are in distress flee to the West. 1

There is little doubt that, with the conversion in 1831 of Sidney Rigdon's communist "family" in Kirtland, Ohio, Joseph Smith had plunged into this main stream of communitarianism in the West and thereby completely transformed his movement.

CHAPTER II

BIRDS OF A FEATHER: CAMPBELLITES, RIGDONITES, SHAKERS, AND MORMONS

And verily, verily, I say unto you, that this church have I established and called forth out of the wilderness.

—Doctrine and Covenants, section 33 (October, 1831)

For some years [Joseph Smith] made but few converts, but having removed to Kirtland, Ohio, he was there joined by Sidney Rigdon, formerly a heterodox Baptist preacher, who had been preparing the way for Mormonism by propagating certain doctrines of his own, and being a much better informed man than Smith, it is chiefly under his plastic hand that the religious economy of the sect has been formed.

—R. Baird, Religion in America (1867)

Sidney Rigdon was an irascible man. Such was the universal testimony of those who knew him well. And it was fairly easy to know him in the still sparsely settled backwoods of eastern Ohio in the late 1820's; for his obstinate ways and his powerful oratorical gifts had already acquired for him a public personality and considerable renown as one of the most influential clergymen between the growing village of Cleveland and the thriving town of Pittsburgh.

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1 Painesville Telegraph, Feb. 15, 1831; letter of Symonds Rider to the editor of the Ohio Star, Dec. 27, 1831.

2 Except where otherwise noted the following account of Rigdon's early life is based on that in the History of the Church, I, 121, note, and on a ms. biography written by his son John W. Rigdon and owned by the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City. I have taken a few details—with considerable discretion—from Read and Laugh . . . Naked Truths about Mormonism . . . copyrighted 1892 by Arthur B. Deming . . . Published Monthly by Deming & Co., 856 Market Street, Oakland /Calif./. Deming was the eccentric son of General Minor R. Deming, a prominent "Jack Mormon," or Mormon sympathizer. General Deming had been elected sheriff of Hancock county, Illinois, on Aug. 1, 1844, six weeks after the murder there of Joseph Smith. His son's curious publications are full of insinuating allusions and open distortions and can be used
As a youth in Penn's Woods West Rigdon certainly did not think himself fated to live out his life in nameless obscurity. Of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian antecedents with roots in Maryland, Rigdon was born in 1793 in the village of Library, St. Clair township, Allegheny county, Pennsylvania. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Allegheny county was the gateway into western Pennsylvania for the flood of Scotch-Irish immigration that rolled up the valley of the Potomac. Having arrived a few years after the Revolution, the Rigdons went no farther west than St. Clair township, where they settled down on a farm that afforded them a comfortable living until the year 1810, when the elder Rigdon died.

Sidney, then seventeen years old, took charge of the farm and saw to the support of his hardpressed mother. But during the War of 1812 western farm prices declined disastrously, and in 1813 the young Rigdon left home for Pittsburgh, where, for most of the next four years, he worked as an apprentice tanner.

Ever since the death of his father Rigdon had devoted every spare moment to the study of religion. By 1816, in his twenty-fourth year, his religious searchings led him to join the Peters Creek Regular Baptist Church of Library. When he returned to Pittsburgh the following year, it was not to make leather, but to read theology. And to do this more systematically he soon made his home in nearby Beaver county with Rev. Andrew Clark, a Baptist minister who agreed to direct his studies. By 1819 Rigdon had learned enough of the rude theology of the rural Baptists to be granted a preacher's

only when augmented by an intimate knowledge of Mormon history. Deming was alleged to be "cracked" on the subject of religion (among many other things). He was, for example, arrested several times for accosting Presidents Taft and Theodore Roosevelt with certain wild schemes. See the microfilm and ms. collections on Deming in the Western Reserve Historical Society. Deming's account (Read and Laugh . . .) of early Mormonism was reprinted in the Pittsburgh Messenger and Advocate and elsewhere during a wave of anti-Mormon sentiment in the late 1880's.
license by the Connoquenessing Baptist Church. This congregation worshipped in Butler county, about five miles up the Connoquenessing river valley from the recently sold Rappite village of Harmony. The world, at least the unregenerate world of backwoods Pennsylvania, now began to hear the first tartly worded sermons of the still obscure but very inspiring young preacher.

Very much a roving preacher, Rigdon did not stick close to his assigned flock on the banks of the Connoquenessing. He gladly delivered his moving sermons to all who had ears to hear, and he thrived amongst the many tares that grew in the wooded counties that lay along the Ohio-Pennsylvania border. But in May, 1819, he felt compelled to enlarge his sphere of action by moving northwestward again into the more recently settled counties of Ohio and by replacing his license with the seal of ordination.

The early summer of that year saw him installed as assistant preacher in the Baptist church of Warren, in Trumbull county, and in July he made his home with the pastor of the church, Rev. Adamson Bentley. He did not join the church until the following March.

Rigdon remained in Warren only long enough to gain some experience and to receive ordination. In June, 1820, three months after his ordination, he married Phebe Brook, a Scotch-Irish girl recently emigrated from New Jersey. Armed now with the two-edged respectability of ordination and marriage, Rigdon moved on to the village of Hartford, Trumbull county, to become pastor of the local Baptist church. In the meantime he continued to preach throughout eastern Ohio, and his reputation gradually began to transcend the narrow world of counties, villages, and isolated cabins.

In the fall of 1821, when Rigdon was passing through Pittsburgh on a visit to his relatives, the First Baptist Church of Pittsburgh, having no regular minister at the time, invited him to preach for several Sundays in the Court House of that city. Impressed with his great gifts, the congregation
asked him to become their pastor, and in January, 1822, after leaving his family in Warren, he returned to Pittsburgh to accept the new call. With this important appointment in what was then the metropolis of the West, Rigdon may be said to have reached the high point in his career as a Regular Baptist.

The new minister was no sooner established in Pittsburgh than he began to have grave misgivings about certain doctrines and limitations of the Baptist church. The crucial dogma of the Regular Baptists was that which maintained that unbaptized infants were damned. This Rigdon refused to teach —thus taking independently the same position on infant baptism that he later found so attractive in the Book of Mormon. After about two-and-a-half years and a trial for heresy, Rigdon left the ministry entirely and, returning to Warren, Ohio, started a small tanning business with his wife's brother.

Information concerning Rigdon's activities between 1824 and 1828 is as important as it is scanty and controversial. These four years of Rigdon's career are important, because during this period his name became linked to the founding of the two most noteworthy native American world religions produced in the nineteenth century: Mormonism and Campbellism.

There is little doubt that Sidney Rigdon played a decisive role in the birth of Mormonism. But just what his contribution was has been obscured ever since 1833 by the rise and growth of a historical myth known as the "Spaulding Theory" of the origin of the Book of Mormon.

In barest outline this long accepted and complex theory stated that Sidney Rigdon, and not Joseph Smith (or God), wrote the Book of Mormon. Some time after 1813 Rigdon allegedly came across and read an unpublished novel called the "Manuscript Found" by a former Congregationalist minister named

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Solomon Spaulding. Allegedly the Spaulding novel told a story very much like that of the Book of Mormon. Rigdon had rewritten the manuscript and, hearing of Joseph Smith's necromantic activities in New York State, he went to the younger man and persuaded him to accept the plagiarized romance as a scriptural reality: the revelation of God to man in the last days. Then Rigdon remained in the background while Smith printed and preached it.

For more than a century anti-Mormons of every stripe have seized on the Spaulding Theory as incontrovertible proof of the fraudulent character of Mormonism. Mormons have fought the theory for just as long. In 1845 it was finally exploded as a complicated fabrication, but many non-Mormons still accept the theory.  

The shakiest part of the Spaulding Theory is that based on the little known private life of Rigdon between 1821 and 1829. Much better known are the public aspects of his career during these years, and they point not to pseudographic plagiarism but to the establishment of the Campbellite church or the Disciples of Christ. It was during this period that he formed his close friendship with the two leaders of a new sect: Alexander Campbell and Walter Scott.

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1 Mrs. Brodie's treatment of the Theory may be considered the definitive refutation. See No Man Knows My History, 68, 113-114, 119-133. When Spaulding's "Manuscript Found" was itself found, resemblances between it and the Book of Mormon were seen to be slight: (a) both were based on long-buried documents in a foreign tongue; (b) both told the story of an ancient migration to America; and (c) both tried to explain the Indian mounds. Perhaps "slight" is too strong for the resemblances; for they are the resemblances of two works in the same genre. In 1885 the Reorganized Church published the manuscript as The Manuscript Found or the Manuscript Story of the Late Rev. Solomon Spaulding (Lamoni, Iowa, 1885).

2 Mrs. Brodie feels that Rigdon's life between 1826 and 1829 has been "carefully documented" from non-Mormon sources, but gives only a chronology of Rigdon's public acts. No Man Knows My History, 430-432.
Rigdon's link with the origins of Campbellism is much better understood than his connection with Mormonism. Before abandoning the pulpit for his tannery Rigdon had been a member of the same Baptist conference as Scott and Campbell. Like them and like so many other sectarians of the age, Rigdon had long been interested in "restoring" Christianity to its primitive doctrinal purity. As early as 1821 he had been attracted to Campbell's motley group of Reformed Baptists and Separate Baptists, and after leaving Pittsburgh he formed an intimate acquaintance with both Campbell and Scott.

These three men frequently discussed the doctrine of the restoration, the need for a general reformation of the Christian churches, the evil of carefully defined creeds, and the scandal of sectarianism—teachings, in short, that were of equal concern to Joseph Smith. Despite their reliance upon the Acts of the Apostles as the basis for reform, there is no evidence that they ever considered the establishment of a communitarian society. For Rigdon, however, the restoration of the "Ancient Gospel and the Ancient Order of Things" included Christian communism, and this opinion was to have fateful consequences for both the Disciples and the Mormons.

Campbell is generally regarded as the founder of the denomination that bears his name. In later years he did most of the writing and speaking for the group and his printed words have led historians to identify the movement with him. But Scott and Rigdon, both former ministers, played roles of equal importance. Scott, a fellow Scottish immigrant of Campbell's, had recently left the pulpit of a small Scandinavian-American church near Pittsburgh to join the Campbell discussions and worked assiduously for the propagation of the views all three agreed upon. And Rigdon not only participated

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2 Ibid., 34-37.
in the early discussions, but also contributed his tremendous oratorical
gifts and newly won reputation to the cause.

In 1826 Campbell baptized Rigdon and Rigdon, in turn, baptized Camp-
bell and this was the real beginning of the new faith. The Campbellites
taught the standard doctrines of the millennial sectarianism of the day:
the restoration of Primitive Christianity (the Wiederbringungsaehre of their
many German Pietist neighbors in Pennsylvania); a suspicion of any clear-cut
creed; a Christology centering on Christ as Bridegroom rather than on Christ
as Second Person of the Trinity; the necessity of pentecostal gifts; and, of
course, the imminence of the millennium itself. The first two inseparable
steps on the road to salvation were repentance and "baptism unto the remis-

dion of sins."

Because this dual doctrine of repentance and baptism was also funda-
mental to Mormonism, some scholars have been tempted to attribute the theol-
ogy of early Mormonism and even of the Book of Mormon to Sidney Rigdon.
But the simple well-known fact is that Joseph Smith preached the repentance-
baptizer doctrine before he ever met Rigdon. This fairly simple doctrine
eliminated the operation of grace from conversion. In thus rejecting the
orthodox doctrine of a "converting experience" both Mormonism and Campbellism
derived the dual doctrine from the same Arminian premise: both insisted that
a man could be truly converted merely by an act of the reason that accepted
the testimony of the Word (in Mormonism the Book of Mormon and the reve-
lations as well). The notion that Mormonism developed in large part out of

1Campbellites, who have preferred to call themselves by the histori-
ically confusing name of "Christians," date their origin from 1809, when
Thomas Campbell, an Irish Seceder Presbyterian, organized "The Christian
Association of Washington (Pa.)" and wrote for it a statement of principle
called the "Declaration and Address."

2The best recent statement of this position may be found in George B.
Arbaugh, "Evolution of Mormon Doctrine," Church History, IX (March, 1940), 1,
and in Arbaugh's Revelation in Mormonism (Chicago, 1932), chap. ii.
Campbellism is based on the assumption of the now untenable Spaulding theory that Rigdon had acted in secret collusion with Smith ever since 1824.

Between 1828 and 1832 it was inevitable that the common social sources of Campbellism and Mormonism, together with their considerable similarities of doctrine, would bring the two movements into contact. But in the ensuing competition for the souls of the backwoods Americans, it was also inevitable that differences of doctrine would make for bitter conflict. For all their loud denunciations of set creeds both groups argued mainly over doctrinal issues; more specifically, over the three Mormon tenets of (1) direct, continuing revelation from God; (2) God's approbation of Mormonism through the "signs [Following them that believe]" (Mark 16: 17); and, above all, (3) Mormon communitarianism (after 1831) as a Primitive Christian way of life.

In the meantime, the three harbingers of the Campbellite restoration gave no inkling that they knew even the name of the still obscure Joseph Smith in 1826. And they were too busy preaching their own restored gospel to care.

In April, 1826, at the request of zealous believers in northern Ohio, Rigdon again moved northward—this time as a Campbellite minister. And very soon the village meeting houses all along the border of Ohio and Pennsylvania warmed to the ardent evangelism of the thirty-three-year-old preacher.

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1. The disagreement between the Mormons and Campbellites on the question of signs, spiritual gifts, and miracles was best stated in a debate between the Mormon Stephen Burnet and the Campbellite William Hayden in November and December, 1836. The Campbellites believed that such supernatural phenomena had ceased with the primitive church. *Elders' Journal*, I, No. 1 (Oct., 1837). Furthermore, for the Mormons (and for Rigdon) the restoration included the doctrine of Christian communism. See Daryl Chase, "Sidney Rigdon," pp. 31-37. Professor Chase thought that Rigdon was less likely to have been influenced by the Shakers, the Harmonites, and the Owenites than by a simple obsession with the restoration of primitive Christian communism. When he later came to study the Shakers, however, he suspected a Shaker influence on Rigdon.

2. Mrs. Brodie (No Man Knows My History, 431-432) has reprinted a standard chronology of Rigdon's life.
Confessing no creed, Rigdon insisted upon the Bible as the sole rule of faith and taught the basic doctrine he had so often discussed with Scott and Campbell: repentance, and baptism for the remission of sins. Within a few weeks his oratory quickly restored and enlarged his previous reputation. In June, 1826, the Baptist church of Mentor, Geauga county (now Lake county), Ohio, invited him to preach at the funeral service of their pastor, Rev. Warner Goodall. Overwhelmed by his eloquence the combined Baptist societies of Mentor and Kirtland called him a few weeks later to be their permanent minister. He accepted and in the fall of 1826 moved northward once again to the crossroads village of Mentor.

That same year Rigdon built up a strong Campbellite church at Mantua in adjacent Portage county. By the following March he no longer sheltered his family under his father-in-law's roof, but made his family home in a comfortable brick house by the shores of Lake Erie. Aided about the same time by Scott and Campbell he began converting the Baptists of the Austintown Yearly Meeting to the new Campbellite version of the Baptist faith.

Rigdon was fast becoming the most prominent cleric in the Mentor area—if not in the whole of the Western Reserve—and was in great demand as a speaker. For a long and moving oration on the Fourth of July, which was then a quasi-religious festival, Elder Sidney Rigdon of Mentor was the natural choice. By 1830 he was so well known in the Western Reserve that the phrase "a certain Elder" in a local newspaper was sufficient to identify him.

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1 J. S. Hayden, Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve (Cincinnati, 1876), 162. His arrival is dated in the spring of 1827 by the History of Lake and Geauga Counties (Phila., 1879), 251.

2 John W. Rigdon, "The Life Story of Sidney Rigdon."

3 A. B. Deming, Read and Laugh... Naked Truths about Mormonism, p. 2, col. 3.

4 Painesville Telegraph, July 6, 1827.

5 Observer and Telegraph, Nov. 18, 1930.
Sidney Rigdon did not achieve prominence without making enemies. For all its roots in the Baptist religion Campbellism's emphasis on the doctrine of restoration was a novel twist. And in view of Rigdon's pugnacious personality, his sensitivity to criticism, his tart tongue, his persistent trudging up and down every switchback in the rugged religious terrain of the upper Ohio Valley, the growth of enmity and opposition was inevitable.

It was the custom in Kirtland and Mentor in the 1820's to compose and sing a long series of candid verses describing in comic tones the personality of each new arrival. Only one complete verse has survived from the endless doggerel describing Rigdon. But it aptly reflects the religious situation in Mentor in 1830:

A one-story meetinghouse without any steeple,
A roguish priest and a foolish people.

The ambitious priest had come a long way from the small farm in Library, Pennsylvania. But he was not the simple religious charlatan his enemies thought he was. Other, more impersonal forces, helped forward his career, and these forces had already concentrated in the Reserve.

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Like all his neighbors Rigdon was a recent arrival in a new country. Immigrants poured into the Western Reserve throughout the 1820's—so much so that the unhealthful port village of Cleveland always received enough new settlers to offset the large number who were driven off or killed by its malarial fevers and prostrating agues: the lakeside slough became a metropolis in spite of itself.

Many, like Rigdon himself, came up the tributaries of the Ohio from

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1C. G. Crary, Pioneer and Personal Reminiscences (Marshalltown, Ia., 1893), 17. Village versifiers were apparently a fixture of rural life in early nineteenth-century New England. For another example, see Ralph H. Gabriel, Elias Boudinot (Norman, Okla., 1941), 52.
the Middle States, but the great majority came from New England and western New York. The orderly Yankee society of the "Connecticut Reserve" appealed to many New Englanders who would have moved onward toward newer areas of the West. Even without this appeal, of course, the Reserve was bound to grow far more rapidly than other regions equally bad in climate and equally poor in soil. For until the age of steamboats and railroads Lake Erie to the north and the Appalachians to the south forced the great Yankee exodus to converge on the Reserve. And before the rise of Cleveland these northern immigrants entered Ohio at the port city of Painesville or arrived in that town by horse and wagon. Painesville mushroomed into the metropolis of the Reserve: a center for emigrant supplies, finances, and transportation.

Five miles further west on the overland route lay Mentor, a turn-off point from New England to all points west and south—along the shores of Lake Erie, or down the tributaries of the Ohio, or over the Old Chillicothe Road. The latter went southward from Painesville and Mentor as the only road from northeastern Ohio to the first capital of the state at Chillicothe. Rigdon's home village of Mentor, along with its sister village of Kirtland, thus became the focal point of a triangulation of forces stemming from the Middle States, from New England—and even from newer areas of the West.

The Western forces were less obvious but real. The Reserve funnelled not only the emigrating Yankees but also an important eastward traffic from the "far west" (then Illinois and Missouri). It is almost impossible to list the mental, or even the physical, baggage of this eastward movement. But it is easy to see how the religious situation in the Reserve reflected the various migratory forces playing upon it: from the Middle States came Campbellism, from New England came Mormonism, and from the West came Shakerism.

Close by Rigdon's home at what is now the famous suburb of Shaker Heights was the Shaker community of North Union. Although the Shakers had
expanded in all directions from their mother community near Albany, North
Union was a daughter of that Western group of Shaker communities born of the
Great Kentucky Revival.

The extraordinary phenomena of the Kentucky Revival had excited
national attention as early as 1799, when famous preachers like James McGready
and John McGee travelled through Kentucky and neighboring states whipping up
the nominally Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian backwoodsmen into what can
literally be termed violent paroxysms of religious emotion. Preachers of all
three denominations harangued the crowds for weeks, sometimes speaking to
thousands of persons at a time. In the ecstasy of their conversion to Christ
hundreds of listeners were suddenly afflicted with spiritual "seizures" such
as barking, "exhibiting the jerks," rolling on the ground, falling into
trances, swooning, speaking in tongues, shouting, singing, and dancing. From
far and wide, travelling over roadless wooded country, frontier farmers came
for extended stays. Along with their entire families they would pitch their
tents for weeks on end in order to enjoy the revival as the only, bright intru-
sion on their lonely, squalid lives. The revival supplied their want of
books, of recreation, of entertainment, of human intercourse, of news from
the wider world, and of spiritual nourishment—all these in one fell swoop,
and frequently in one swooping fall.

By 1803 these phenomena had caused a great loss of membership from
some churches and much dissension in all of them. A schism among the Presby-
terians brought forth a new sect called the "New Lights," or "Schismatics,"
or "Christians." Nominally Presbyterians, the New Lights withdrew from the
Synod of Kentucky and formed the Presbytery of Springfield (now Springdale),
with headquarters at Cane Ridge, Kentucky. But the Springfield Presbytery
could not withstand the gale-strength winds of doctrine and fell apart in
June, 1804. Three of its most important leaders, Richard McNemar, Malcolm
Worley, and Matthew Houston—later joined by John Dunlavy—formed a new sect emphasizing a Shaker-like faith in the immediate presence of God. God, usually in the form of the Holy Spirit, manifested Himself by inspiring certain well-defined bodily exercises, such as the "rolling exercise," the jerks, the dance, and spontaneous outbursts of song. An even more important Shaker-like element was their attempt to live the life of Christian communism.\footnote{The literature on the Kentucky Revival is extensive but uneven in quality. In the following account of the relation of the revival to the rise of western Shakerism I have relied on the excellent summary in Edward Deming Andrews, The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society (New York, 1953), 71-77, and on the indispensable account of Richard McNemar, The Kentucky Revival (Cincinnati, 1807). McNemar was one of the revival's most important and learned gifts to Shakerism.}

Other New Light leaders, however, returned to orthodoxy. Of these the most prominent by far was Barton W. Stone of Cane Ridge, who sensed the drift into something like Shakerism. And Stone's worst fears were soon realized.

From their headquarters twelve hundred miles away in New Lebanon, New York, the Shakers had been watching the progress of the revival with mounting interest. Throughout their history the Shakers, or United Society of Believers, had exploited the emotion and strife of revivalism to make converts. As a girl back in England Mother Ann Lee had herself been profoundly moved by the famous revivalist, George Whitefield, when he preached in her home town of Manchester. And upon her arrival in America about twenty-five years before the Kentucky Revival, she had personally addressed various local revivals in western Massachusetts. Accordingly, "the lead" (head ministry) at New Lebanon decided to send three emissaries to "open the Gospel" in the West.

Although the three missionaries had no fixed destination in mind they were inevitably drawn to the very center of the revival, the vicinity of Cane Ridge and Turtle Creek. Within a few weeks of their arrival in the early
spring of 1805 they converted not only McNemar, Worley, and Dunlavy, but many others as well. To the Shakers such astounding success seemed entirely natural, or better, supernatural. For had not the soundness often prophesied that the next opening of the gospel would take place in "a great level country in the southwest"? And had they not seen signs in the sky two years before—signs that had presaged these great events in the West?

Barton W. Stone, horrified by the Shaker teaching that Mother Ann Lee was the female manifestation of Christ and by the doctrine of universal celibacy, organized an anti-Shaker party among the "New Lights," or Christians. But the damage had been done; and as a result of the Shaker mission seven Shaker communities came into being over the next few years in Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana Territory. In 1832 Stone brought most of his Christian followers into Campbellism.

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Converts made during the Kentucky Revival formed the nucleus of the first Shaker community in the West: Union Village, in southern Ohio. By the spring of 1806 the first building of the new community began to rise in Warren county, just south of Dayton. Union Village henceforth became a western New Lebanon, the mother colony of several new western communities in the flexible Shaker federation.

The foundation of the North Union community, close by Rigdon's home in northern Ohio, came several years later. In 1821 Ralph Russell, a farmer in Warrensville township between Mentor and Cleveland, went to visit one James Darrow at Stow, about twenty-five miles to the south. Darrow was a recent convert to Shakerism and a relative of David Darrow, the presiding elder of Union Village. After a long conversation which almost convinced Russell that salvation lay among the Shakers, Russell immediately left for Union Village to look it over. He was hardly there a few minutes when he gave his heart to
the new faith. 1

Excited and eager to spread his new-found faith, Russell lost no time in turning back toward Warrensville. As he went, a strong ray of light, emanating, it seemed, from Union Village, guided him through the two hundred miles of wilderness between Union Village and his home. As he reached a spot near his farm the ray became an erect column and then turned into a "beautiful tree of light." Strengthened in his enthusiasm by his visions, Russell proceeded to proselytize his relatives, friends, and neighbors with immense fervor and gratifying success.

Russell's next thought was to sell his land, in typical Shaker fashion, for the benefit of the church and then to bring his growing group down to Union Village. But the elders of the mother community suggested that he and his fellow Believers remain in northern Ohio and establish a new community there. In 1826, after about four years of guidance and indoctrination from Union Village, the northerners instituted their own "order of elders" and thus started the very successful community of North Union—a community that came to be noted for its strong affinity for spiritual exercises. Two years later, when Joseph Smith was beginning his translation of the Book of Mormon, they signed their first formal covenant, binding themselves to live in common and to share all things. 2

In 1826 "the lead" at New Lebanon, New York, had appointed Ashbel Kitchell as presiding elder; and for five years the community flowered under his vigorous leadership. A native of New Jersey, Kitchell had been a

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2E. D. Andrews, The People Called Shakers, 80. A history of the North Union community is available: Caroline B. Piercy, The Valley of God's Pleasure: A Saga of the North Union Shaker Community (New York, 1951); but this is an extremely superficial and quite inaccurate hodgepodge of no value to the scholar.
successful Presbyterian minister in the town of New Lebanon when he was converted to Shakerism. Well known among the Shakers for his powerful physique, he was a tall man who carried his two hundred and fifty pounds with dignity and grace. Less graceful, however, was his firm assurance that he was usually right. "Decision," wrote a prominent elder of North Union, "was a prominent trait in his character . . . his word was law." He was famous for having pitted his iron will against Death itself when it threatened his indispensable farm deacon, John Pomeroy Root. As Root lay dying Kitchell cried, "Pomeroy! Live! There is no right excuse, permission for you to die." And the gentle, obedient Pomeroy lived.  

Despite his great accomplishments in consolidating North Union, Kitchell's unbending ways gradually alienated most Believers there. He was probably responsible for the several apostasies from North Union which marred his ministry. He even succeeded in driving Russell, the inspired founder of the community, out of Shakerism entirely. Russell later joined the Spiritualist Church. Most of those remaining thought Kitchell's manner so arbitrary and so oppressive that they appealed to Union Village, their immediate superior, for a change. For those who supported the petition for Kitchell's removal the Valley of God's Pleasure had become a vale of tears. And their petition was soon granted.

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As a man of religion Sidney Rigdon had great sympathy and understanding for the sectarian communities of his day. He and his Shaker neighbors of North Union had both established their homes in the Western Reserve in the  

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1For Kitchell see the "Prescott Ms.," WRHS, p. 35; and James S. Prescott, "Records of the Church at North Union," ms., WRHS.

2Ministry of Union Village to the Ministry of New Lebanon, Union Village, Oct. 10, 1831. I am indebted to Mr. George Ely Russell, the genealogist of the North Union Russell family, for information on Ralph Russell's religious affiliation after leaving Shakerism.
same year: 1826. But it was as a neighbor of the Rappites that Rigdon made his earliest acquaintance with religious communitarianism. Although the Shakers were more important in his religious career, it was very likely the Rappites who first impressed him with the beauties of the communitarian life, a life he was to preach for the next quarter century.

From 1810, when he took over his father's farm, to 1821, when he seems to have joined Campbell's Reformed Baptist group, Rigdon spent most of his life in the three counties centering on Pittsburgh: Allegheny, Beaver, and Butler. And even afterwards, as he drifted across the Pennsylvania border into Ohio, and up the Mahoning valley toward the Western Reserve, he made frequent trips by the easy water route back down to Pittsburgh for both religious and personal reasons.

This three-county area was also the home of the Rappites, and there is every reason to believe that Rigdon was familiar with their ideas and with at least one of their communities. He spent his whole early life in the shadow of their two Pennsylvania communities—communities notorious as utopias and extremely influential in the growing economy of the Ohio valley. They were already world-famous by 1815, and their moves, widely publicized in Europe and in the United States, only increased their fame. Their next little

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1 From 1805 to 1815 the Rappites had flourished in their community of Harmony, in the Connoquenessing valley, Butler county, Pennsylvania. For the last two years of this period (1813-1815) Rigdon was an apprentice tanner in nearby Pittsburgh heavily engaged in the study of religion. In 1815 the Rappites moved to Indiana and built their second community of New Harmony, whose malarial situation and isolation from convenient markets made them yearn once more for Pennsylvania. During their ten years in Indiana, Rigdon was mostly occupied with the study of theology in Beaver county—the county to which they would soon return—and was also for a time preacher to a congregation close by the site of the community they had sold in 1815. Although the Rappites were not in Pennsylvania during these ten years, their fame and influence remained very strong. And in 1825 they returned. Having sold out to Robert Owen in Indiana, they returned to Pennsylvania and built Economy, their third and last community, about eighteen miles down the Ohio river from Pittsburgh.
town of Economy became a byword for successful utopianism, and its easily accessible, conspicuous location on the banks of the Ohio attracted hundreds of visitors. Rigdon may very well have been one of the many ministers who landed at their busy quay, for after 1825 he floated past Economy on his many trips to and from Pittsburgh. Though there is no foundation for the assertion that Rigdonite communitarianism was "modeled" on that of the Rappites,¹ there is little doubt that he admired them and knew a great deal about their practices.

Very probably encouraged by the Rappite example, Rigdon had begun to talk about the Ancient Order of Things as early as 1821. By 1826, when he took over the Baptist-Campbellite church in Mentor his lively interest in the theory and practice of Christian communism had become a consuming passion. This passion was common knowledge to settlers of the Reserve. He needed little or no excuse to talk about the subject, so much so that when his incessant preaching tours took him to lodgings at Carlos Granger's friendly inn at Painesville, the regular boarders learned to expect and endure it. "How nice it would be," he would remark at mealtimes, "to have all Christians live in a community separate from the world's people."

Rigdon was thinking in the chiliastic terms of the New Testament, and he should not be confused with men like Robert Owen, the leader of that wave of secular communitarianism which began to overwhelm the utopian world in the late 1820's. Rigdon's adventism preserved his communitarian efforts from the failures that dogged Owen and similar non-religious utopians. At first, Owen thought he could learn much from the great success of the Rappite

¹See below, chap. v, pp. 186-188. Their sale to Robert Owen at what seemed a very high price to the ambitious and land-hungry Americans of the time even reached the ears of some penniless Norwegian immigrants who knew little or no English. See my article, "Still More Light on the Kendall Colony: A Unique Snooper Letter," Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XX (1959), 25.
and Shaker communities. Owen himself had only praise for their double achievement of moral regeneration and of economic justice at a time when both these goods seemed rare. But when he visited their communities he did so to study their methods, not their doctrines. Steeped in the Benthamite view of society, he naively believed that managerial techniques rather than deep convictions would bring success. Neither the Shakers nor the Rappites did very much to disabuse him of his notions, for they were increasingly proud of their worldly as well as their spiritual accomplishments. And they felt that he simply did not know what it was all about.

Rigdon had observed the Rappites and Shakers as closely as Owen, and he even took time to observe Owen himself. In 1829 he made the long journey to Cincinnati, the successor to Pittsburgh as the commercial and cultural entrepôt of the early West, to hear the famous two-week-long debate between his partner, Alexander Campbell, and the notorious atheist, Robert Owen. The Rappites were also interested in the basic subject of the debate—rationalism versus Christianity—and paid a special agent to report the speeches and translate them into German.

The Rappites were jubilant over the "defeat" of Owen's atheistic communitarianism in the debate. What Rigdon thought as he sat through the

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1 See the account of one of Owen's visits to New Lebanon in the ms. diary of Shaker Elder Isaac Newton Youngs, acquired by the New York State Library at Albany in 1959. For another visit see the diary of William Owen in the Publications of the Indiana Historical Society, vol. I, No. 1 (Indianapolis, 1906).


3 Carl Arzt to Frederick Rapp, Pittsburgh, April 15, 1829; R. L. Baker to Frederick Rapp, Louisville, April 26, 1829.
interminable arguments was not recorded. He certainly hated the doctrines of Owen, but at the same time he may have been thinking of certain weaknesses in the doctrines of his now famous colleague, Alexander Campbell. For as soon as Rigdon returned to Mentor, a long brewing disagreement with Campbell exploded in a debate that was far more important for the course of American history than the more widely reported one at Cincinnati.

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The acrimonious battle between Rigdon and Campbell centered more directly than did the Cincinnati debate on the communitarian solution to man’s ills. Between 1828 and December, 1831—that is, simultaneously with the unhappy dissension among the Shakers of North Union—the Campbellites in the Mentor and Kirtland area were suffering from their own personality crisis. The personality was that of Sidney Rigdon, who, in his own erratic way, was almost as headstrong as Ashbel Kittel. But in the Campbellite affair the main point at issue was a doctrinal one: whether Rigdon’s literal acceptance of Christian communism (as a part of the Ancient Order of Things) was valid Campbellite doctrine. Campbell himself said No.

But millennial logic—and certainly the Campbellites believed in the Second Coming—supported Rigdon’s conviction. Rigdon could remind them that they called themselves "Disciples of Christ" and could point out that the original disciples shared all things in common. Christ the Bridegroom was soon to come and reign for a thousand years. But would He save the Campbellites if He found them accumulating private property? Was it not necessary to withdraw from the surrounding capitalist, money-getting society? Only by living apart in a community could they restore primitive Christianity and be saved.

Belief in the restoration and the millennium led directly, as with so many other sects of the time, to communitarianism. The true millennialist
had never been interested in greeting the returning Christ on a rich farm of his own. ¹ No doubt, too, the simple human desire to find happiness in a distraught and corrupt world was equally important. To secular moralists like Robert Owen the early nineteenth century was too "old" and too evil; to sectarian leaders like Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith it was too new and too impious. After the late 1820's the secular or Owenite tradition of utopian socialism gradually began to replace the religious utopianism perfected by the Rappites and Shakers.

Rigdon, of course, still looked to the latter two groups. The Rappites had impressed him earlier in his career, but it was his Shaker neighbors at North Union who had direct and significant effects on his communitarian ideas. Much to Campbell's disgust Rigdon's long-standing preoccupation with Christian communism finally bore fruit in 1828–29, about a year and a half before his conversion to Mormonism. But when his community took form it was evident that he had modeled it not on Economy but on North Union.

Early in 1828, while trying to bring his Mentor congregation to a final and complete acceptance of the Campbellite restoration of the Ancient Gospel, Rigdon became convinced that he could no longer put off the establishment of his long pondered utopian community. When he broached the scheme to his Mentor church, they received it coldly. But his part-time congregation farther back in the woods in the township of Kirtland was more receptive. Exactly when he first persuaded the Kirtlanders to accept the principle of Christian communism is not certain. It may have been as early as December, 1826. At any rate, some time after this date one of the first—and therefore most respected settlers—of the township accepted the principle of "common stock" at once, and others soon followed. And thus was established at

¹A point forcefully made by Max Weber in his Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (London, 1930), 84.
Kirtland what Rigdon called "The Family," or the "Social Union."¹

The name reveals the immediate source of Rigdon's inspiration: the Shaker community of North Union just a few miles down the road from Kirtland. Every Shaker community consisted of one or more "families" of between fifty and one hundred persons. "Union" was one of their most sacred words and was applied to almost everything communal. Although each Shaker family was an independent economic and administrative unit, there was much exchange of goods and personnel between the separate families of each community and all families acknowledged the leadership of the elders presiding over the whole community. The chief activity of most families was farming and often a family began only after some landholding convert consecrated his farm to the "united interest" of the society.

It was by such a gift that the Rigdonite group began. Some time after the fall of 1826 the "Rigdonites" or "The Family," as they came to be known, converted Isaac Morley, a member of the Kirtland congregation. Since Morley owned an eighty-acre farm and since the Rigdonites had as yet no common living quarters, some three or four families went to live the communal life on Morley's farm. For a while Morley could not legally donate his land to the new sect as a deed of gift (as was the Shaker custom) because Rigdon had

¹History of Geauga and Lake Counties (Phila., 1878), 247. Some members apparently called the Family the "Social Union," while outsiders referred to it as "the common stock family" or the "club of Campbellites who have all things in common." See the letter signed "A. S." to editor Warren Isham of the Observer and Telegraph, Nov. 18, 1830. Both "Union" and "family" are Shaker terms and the official title of Rigdon's community was The Family. See also the History of the Church, I, 116.

²To speak more precisely, family members obey the branch or "bishops'" ministry; in the case of North Union the bishopric was Union Village in southern Ohio. There was no "order of elders" presiding over each and every separate community. I am grateful to Dr. Edward Deming Andrews for reminding me of this.

³E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unvailed, 103.
not as yet appointed a legal trustee. Indeed, as long as the Family existed under Rigdon's direction it had no organized corporate status.

In the meantime, Morley, whom one contemporary described as "unbalanced on religious subjects," hemmed and hawed. He did not seem at all unbalanced on the value of private property. He retained private ownership of his farm but threw it open to all who wished to join the Family, and for this reason the group was often referred to as "Morley's Family."

Within a very short time Morley, assisted by his brother-in-law, 2 Titus Billings, gathered about one hundred Rigdonites on his farm. Rigdon had a row of cabins built 3 and it was a variegated group that moved into them. Since the community had no novitiate or testing period like that of the Shakers, not everyone who joined was pure in motive. This was a continual source of trouble. A few were industrious and well-educated, but many were ignorant, lazy, and coarse: profligate backwoodsmen who had joined for as much free bed and board as they could get.

There is no evidence that the Rigdonites ever practiced Shaker celibacy. As a result, hard-pressed heads of families could join up and feed their dependents more easily than they could on their own farms. Such opportunists, the human flotsam of the backcountry, had long plagued even the

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2 A. B. Deming, Read and Laugh, p. 3, col. 2.
3 Ibid., p. i, col. 4-5.
4 It is difficult to determine accurately the economic status of the Rigdonites. Mormon sources tend to make them all industrious members of the middle class. The anti-Mormons generally place them in the lowest criminal classes. The anti-Mormons, however, when they wished to show the dangerous appeal of Rigdonism or of Mormonism, elevated the Family in both class and income. Thus, Zed D. Howe, the first critical observer of the Mormons, described them as property-less on one page and then intimated on the next page that the Mormons were property-owners being pulled by the Prophet. Mormonism Unveiled, 128-129. See also pp. 195-196.
Shakers, who called them "winter Shakers." But, wisely, the Shakers did not immediately admit every applicant to full membership. To test newcomers for sincerity the Shakers put them into a "Gathering Order," where they spent a comfortable winter learning Shaker doctrine. 1

Whatever its defects of membership and organization the community on Morley's farm was the scene of powerful and influential religious forces. The millennial expectations of the Rigdonites, kept at an even higher pitch than that of the Shakers, encouraged an emotionalism which was far more intense than that of North Union. 2 Eventually this undercurrent of excitement—produced by their waiting for some wondrous but undefined event—led to a wild outburst of Kentucky-style revivalism in 1830-31. But for the present it did not discourage several prominent settlers from joining, and the new community made steady progress between 1828 and 1830.

In establishing the Family Rigdon had finally and irrevocably committed himself to a communitarian interpretation of the Campbellite restoration, and consequently the friction between the irascible Rigdon and the cocky, almost arrogant Alexander Campbell quickly came to a head. The advantage lay with Campbell. He had made his headquarters in southern Ohio, where he and most of his followers lived, and had thus come to control the organization of the church. Supported by Stone and other leaders, Campbell now proceeded to get rid of his "roguish priest."

The vehemence of Campbell's opposition to Rigdon on the question of communism is a little hard to understand, for Campbell himself had at one

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1Sincere postulants, of course, would remain for an indefinite period before being admitted to the more permanent Junior or Senior Order.

2Technically the Shakers were "post-millennialists." But evil had not yet begun to disappear, and their hopes were high during the first third of the nineteenth century.

3Howe, 103.
time favored religious communities and had even joined one. Very likely he felt that his own leadership and what he conceived to be the original ideals of the Disciples could not survive Rigdon's veerings from orthodoxy.

The quarrel broke out into the open by late 1830 and became ever more bitter as it rumbled down the years. A few weeks later Rigdon left Campbell-ism for Mormonism, shouting nasty insults as he went. In later years Rigdon liked to picture his own defeat as a great victory of a small man against "the far-famed Alexander Campbell." Campbell, he once admitted, was a shrewd and confident man who was not likely to lose his presence of mind. But, boasted Rigdon, the great Campbell could only stand confused and silly when assailed by such Rigdonite rhetoric as: "You have lied Alexander. Alexander you have lied. If you do not receive the Book of Mormon, you will be damned." The truth was that Rigdon so feared his former colleagues that he refused to debate publicly with them—even when the opponent was Alexander's elderly father, Thomas.

About six years later in the course of pouring out his bile against three former associates in the work of the Lord—Campbell, Scott, and Deacon Clapp of Mentor—Rigdon characterized his former religion as follows:

The scheme of Messrs. Campbell and Scott is the most barefaced and impudent imposition ever attempted to be pawned on any generation, and those who are stupid enough to continue to follow them, will cast a shade upon the character of this generation as long as the name of it is known among the living.

A master of backwoods and biblical invective, he even descended, a few months later, far down into the alimentary canal to find metaphors that would do

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2E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 209.

3See Rigdon's letter in the Messenger and Advocate, II (April, 1836), 298.
justice to the filthiness of Campbellism.

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In the fall of 1830, at the very height of the Rigdonite schism, one Joseph Smith, Prophet, Seer, Revelator, and founder of a small sect then numbering not more than three score persons, was busy forging the first link in a remarkable chain of events that would bind together all the dissident religious forces of the Western Reserve in a new synthesis and a new religion. Shakerism, Rigdonism, and Campbellism would all be shaken to their foundations and in the process Mormonism, still little more than a local scandal involving two or three large families, would itself be transformed into a religious movement of extraordinary power and national renown. For it was in September, 1830 that Smith, then living some three hundred miles to the east in Fayette, New York, announced that he had just received a revelation from God of stupendous importance. God had warned him that some time very soon the "trump of the millennium" would sound and that all the elect of the earth would be "gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land [the United States]." This enormous task could be accomplished only in the empty spaces of the American West and a month later the Lord revealed to Joseph, His prophet, that four leading elders, namely, Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and Ziba Peterson, should journey into the West and preach the rediscovered record of Lehi (the Book of Mormon) to the Lamanites (western Indians), and thus prepare the way for the gathering of the Elect in the last days.

The four elders left at once. As it turned out they did not convert any Lamanites to the Jewish faith allegedly held by their forefathers; but

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1Ibid., III (Jan., 1837), 436-439.
2D & C, 29: 7-8 (Sept. 26, 1830).
3D & C, 30 (Sept., 1830); 32 (Oct., 1830).
they did explore much of the West all the way from northern Ohio to the well-known "jumping-off place" of Independence, Missouri, and beyond. They did their first preaching in the Western Reserve—to white men.

Of this missionary group the first three played extremely important roles in the rise of early Mormonism. Peter Whitmer, Jr., was one of the eleven official witnesses whose testimony to the effect that they had seen the golden plates of the Book of Mormon with their own eyes may be found in every edition of that work. His father, of German Pietist forebears, had been a kind of patron to the Prophet.

Oliver Cowdery, the "First Elder of the Church" in Mormon history books, was second only to the Prophet in authority. He was also an original witness of the Book of Mormon and had, as principal scribe for the translation of that work, taken the dictation of Joseph.

Even more important for the history of Mormonism than Whitmer or Cowdery was Parley P. Pratt, later known by the unofficial Mormon sobriquet of "The Archer of Paradise." Talented, boundless in energy, and articulate in speech, Pratt rose in the councils of the church with a steady swiftness comparable only to the advancement of that "Lion of the Lord," Brigham Young. Pratt became the bridge between Shakerism and Rigdonism of northern Ohio and the inchoate Mormonism of western New York.

Parley P. Pratt was born in 1807 of a distinguished Puritan ancestry that included both the great conservative founder of Hartford, Thomas Hooker, and the rebellious Antinomian heretic of Boston, Anne Hutchinson. Sometime before his birth his pious parents, Jared and Charity Pratt, had emigrated from a village on the western borders of Massachusetts and Connecticut to the

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1D & C, 30: 7.

2Reva Scott Stanley, Archer of Paradise, 23-25.
wilderness of west-central New York. Dissatisfied perhaps with the rigors of farming in the high mountains of that area, they returned east and settled at Canaan, Columbia county, New York, just across the border from Massa- setts. Columbia county was the seat of the mother colony of the Shakers at New Lebanon, and Canaan itself was the location of two thriving Shaker families attached to the New Lebanon community. Several members of Pratt’s family joined the Shakers.

After spending most of his boyhood in Canaan, where he was connected with the local Baptist church, Pratt decided to seek his living in Wayne county in western New York. About 1825, when he was eighteen years old, he under-went a spiritual crisis. His Baptist faith did not seem to offer him a true, simple, clear way of having his sins remitted and he rebelled against the requirement of a “religious experience” as a prerequisite for salvation. And being somewhat disappointed with the Presbyterians and Methodists, he hence-forth began to live the life of an uncommitted Christian.

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1 History of the Church, I, 118-119, note.
2 The Pratt family was descended from Christopher and Sara Pratt, who married in Saybrook, Connecticut, in 1739. About 1750 the Pratts “disappeared” from Saybrook. One of Christopher’s sons, Obadiah (b. 1742), the grandfather of Parley, married one Emma Tolls (b. New Haven, 1754), and emigrated to Canaan, Columbia county, N.Y., where he died in 1797. Jemima died in Washington Dutchess county, N.Y., in 1812. Their eldest son, Jared (b. 1769), was Parley’s father. At least two other of Obadiah’s children, Parley’s Uncle William (b. 1777) and his Aunt Sarah (b. 1781) became members of the Shaker community at Harvard, Mass. (probably assigned to that community after joining the Shakers at New Lebanon, N.Y.).

The Shaker membership list at the Western Reserve Historical Society and mss. from the Harvard Shaker community in the collection of Dr. Edward Dening Andrews show that other Pratts at Harvard between 1825 and 1829 were Arvin (Allen?), Sally, Cynthia, Mary, Mahaleth, Elihu, Isaac, and Dennis. Of these I am sure that the first four were also close relatives of Parley, probably cousins. Several other Pratts were Shakers. Further genealogical research would probably show them also to have been close relatives of Parley; but I am more than satisfied that the family of Parley P. Pratt was shot through with Shaker-ism. See “Genealogy” in Parley P. Pratt, Autobiography, appendix, VIII; and Frederick W. Chapman, The Pratt Family (Hartford, Conn.), 157-160.

3 History of the Church, I, 119, note.
About the time Pratt came to reside in Wayne county the newly opened Erie Canal was inaugurating a boom in the settlement of western New York that would, within half a dozen years, suddenly change the area around Wayne county from a loose and thinly populated frontier into fairly stable society that could count scores of new towns and cities.

Only recently carved out of Ontario county to the south, Wayne county had been an important center for the settlement of western counties even before the canal opened. It contained, until the rise of Rochester, the most important town in the area: Palmyra. It was to this town that Joseph Smith's family had first emigrated a few years before. The Smiths finally settled a few miles south of Palmyra at Manchester, Ontario county.

Wayne and neighboring counties in the Burned-over District were still being torn by the sectarian revivalism which had led not only to the visions of Joseph Smith but also to the founding of the near-by Shaker community of Sodus Bay. It so disgusted Pratt that he remained only long enough to save enough money for the down payment on a farm for his future family. Further west land was cheaper and revivalism, so he thought, less oppressive. In 1826 he left for the thickly forested Western Reserve, thus arriving there in the same year that North Union was organized and Sidney Rigdon moved to Mentor.

After several lonely months of clearing a piece of land in Russia township, near Amherst, Lorain county, Ohio, he returned to Canaan, New York, in 1827 to seek himself a wife. In September of the same year he married Thankful Halsey and immediately returned with her to his cabin in the wilderness

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1History of the Church, I, 2-3.
of Ohio.

Sometime after February, 1829, Sidney Rigdon had left Mentor on a preaching tour that took him through the vicinity of Russia township. Pratt, still seeking release from sin, left his cabin and went to hear what a well-known leader of the newest sect had to say about salvation. Rigdon impressed and delighted him, but the still skeptical Pratt felt that before he gave his allegiance to Campbellism he must hear Campbell himself. Shortly afterwards he did, and was thereupon convinced that the new "Reformed Baptist" doctrines, as he called them, conformed more nearly to the Ancient Gospel than any other.¹ His only reservation was the seeming absence of "authority" for it. But he immediately sold his possessions and returned to New York to preach it to the world—beginning with his own family.

On his way through Newark, Wayne county, a few miles east of Palmyra

¹History of the Church, I, 119, note. This note dates Pratt's conversion in March, 1829, when he heard Rigdon. But no evidence is given for the date, and other sources give a later date. Pratt's Autobiography, for example, seems, rather vaguely (p. 30), to place the conversion some time in 1830; but this is an error, because by then he had become a Mormon.

A third source would place the conversion somewhere between these two extremes. This third source, though quite unreliable as a whole, describes certain legal difficulties that Pratt must have had and which would explain the uncertainty of dating his career during the two crucial years between 1828 and 1830. Pratt's troubles were enlarged and distended with relish by a biased neighbor who wrote a letter to the editor of the Milan Free Press (Huron county, Ohio) stating that Pratt was "authorized to preach by the sect called Rigdonites, in this vicinity. The next day after receiving the eldership he ran away from a constable, and numerous creditors to Canaan . . . . Not being able to gain any proselytes (one young brother of his excepted), he lays his course up the Erie Canal as far as Palmyra, where he finds this new [Mormon] Bible . . . ." Pratt, the writer continued, had escaped from waiting officers in Amherst in late 1830 after having illegally sold a neighbor's house in July, 1830. In November, 1830, when this anonymous letter was written, Pratt was a Mormon, "now at large" deluding silly women with his new religion. This letter was reprinted in the Palmyra Telegraph, Dec. 11, 1831.

Since the Book of Mormon was first available in April, 1830, and since Pratt had been travelling and preaching for several weeks before coming across the Book of Mormon, he was probably converted to Campbellism late in 1829. About a year later, on September 1, 1830, he was baptized into Mormonism, and immediately returned to Ohio on the Mormon mission that aroused the anonymous letter-writer to "warn" the public.
on the Erie Canal, Pratt met with many rumors about the Book of Mormon, which had just come off the press in Palmyra. He was so intrigued that he sent his wife on to her father's house and stopped to investigate. Then, trudging a few miles southward to Manchester, he visited the Smith home and spoke to Hyrum, the Prophet's brother. From Manchester he accompanied Hyrum on a journey eastward to Fayette, where he met and talked with Oliver Cowdery. By now he was convinced of the truth of Mormonism, and on September 1, 1830, Oliver Cowdery baptized him in Seneca lake and ordained him an elder.

After this long theological detour Pratt resumed his journey to his parents' home in Canaan, arriving there not as a Campbellite but as a Mormon. Here he succeeded in baptizing his younger brother, Orson, on September 19, and shortly afterwards he returned to Fayette to meet the great Prophet himself.

The Prophet immediately gauged the mettle of his enthusiastic new convert—as had Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, and Oliver Cowdery before him—and forthwith assigned him to the special four-man mission to the Lamanites. This mission had been announced by revelation in October, a few days after the arrival of Pratt. The Archer in Paradise now had both a mark for his shafts and a satisfying, absolute commitment to a religious cause. He and his three companions—the "four impostors," as they were called by Pratt's enemies back in Ohio—now started on their long and eventful westward journey full of excitement and zeal.

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1History of the Church, I, 119, note, 127; Pratt, AuthorioTanky, 30, 33, 37-38, 13; Eber T. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 217.

2Anonymous letter dated Nov. 26, 1830, to the editor of the Milan Free Press (Huron county, Ohio), reprinted in the Painesville Telegraph, Dec., 11, 1830.
When the missionaries arrived at Mentor in the Western Reserve about the middle of October, 1830, Sidney Rigdon's violent contest with Campbell had already reached its climax; for he had openly broken with the Scotsman in August. Though still formally a Campbellite, he became Campell's increasingly bitter enemy from this point forward.

The break was foreordained. Rigdon's perservid imagination, his swoonings (brought on, he thought, by the direct action of the Holy Ghost), his wild and extravagant language, his extreme Biblical literalism, his irascibility, and his communitarianism all would have alienated the more practical and rationalistic Campbell. These same qualities, together with a certain visceral integrity, eventually led him to be cast out by the Mormons themselves. Rigdon, the founder of churches, was for the moment churchless. It was a time for new thoughts, and these were provided by the four missionaries to the Lamanites led by Pratt and Cowdery.

It was natural that the missionaries should stop by at the home of Sidney Rigdon—Pratt's late father in the Ancient Gospel; but it was an awkward moment for Pratt. After an embarrassing explanation of how he had lost his Rigdonite faith, Pratt presented Rigdon with a leather-bound copy of the Book of Mormon, politely affirming that it was a revelation of God. Considerably surprised, Rigdon remarked that he thought God's revelations were all contained in the Bible; he very much doubted that the curious book just handed him was also a revelation. "But," he added, "I will read your book and see what claims it has upon my faith." 2

After some further conversation Elder Pratt asked for the privilere

1 A. S. Hayden, Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, 191-192, 209, 298-299.

of preaching to his former brethren in the Mentor and Kirtland congregations at the next scheduled services. This granted, Pratt and Cowdery addressed the very next evening-service of the respectable Mentor congregation on the subject of the restoration, on the imminent coming of the millennium, on the gathering of Israel, and on the Book of Mormon. When they had finished, Rigdon himself arose and told his congregation that in considering the extraordinary information just given they should heed the advice of 1 Thessalonians: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."  

There is no evidence that the Mentor congregation held fast to the new gospel. But when the Mormon elders preached to Rigdon's communist Family at Kirtland, they met with instantaneous success. The Family had just then reached a peak of millennial expectation and were daily looking for the Great Day to arrive. The new gospel accorded perfectly with their hopes, and that same night seventeen accented baptism at the hands of Oliver Cowdery. Within a year most of the remaining fourscore or so had also joined.  

Rigdon, the spiritual father of the Family, was more cautious. He nevertheless began, just as he had promised, a very careful reading of the newly printed revelation of God. For about two weeks after receiving the book he constantly read, prayed, meditated, and fasted, till finally toward the end of October he fell into a dramatic swoon, and by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost was fully convinced that the Book of Mormon was truly the revelation of God. 3 Then followed an event that created a sensation throughout the Western Reserve: early in November, about a week after the seventeen Rigdonites at Kirtland had "gone into the water again," Rigdon himself,

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1History of the Church, I, 124.

2Ibid., 124, 116; E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unvailed (1834 ed.), 103.

3E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unvailed, 217; History of the Church, I, 124-125; Millennial Harbiner, II (1831), 109. The Harbiner was the official organ of the Campbellites.
together with his wife Phebe, was immersed in the waters of Mormon baptism by Oliver Cowdery.

The four Mormon missionaries were having the same satisfying success in the Western Reserve that the three Shaker missionaries had enjoyed in the Kentucky Revival. But there was so little time to accomplish the rest of their mission that they prepared to move on while the dust was still settling on their little revolution. Before leaving they added a leading convert from the Family, "Doctor" Frederick G. Williams, to their party. An influential figure in the Kirtland area, Williams, like several other converts from Rigdonism, would rise high in the Mormon church and in its United Order of Enoch. He was a land-owning herb doctor—a "revised quack," as the editor of the Painesville Telegraph called him—and local settlers always recognized his thin horse as it ambled along jouncing against its ribs two saddlebags containing his professional herbarium.

When the newly augmented party had passed over the horizon, they left behind the first western branch of the Mormon church. The twenty converts who made it up, all zealous communitarians, increased the number of Smith's followers by about a third, assured the survival of Mormonism, and gave

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1History of the Church, I, 125. The date was probably Monday, November 1, 1830. See the Painesville Telegraph, Nov. 9, 1830; "Mormonism," an article signed "W.S.C.," in the Western Reserve Chronicle, Mar. 3, 1831, reprinted from the Painesville Telegraph; Ohio Star, Dec. 9, 1830; and the letter signed "A.S." to editor Warren Isham of the Observer and Telegraph, Nov. 18, 1830.

2E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 230. Howe holds him responsible for the revelation which introduced dietary laws into Mormonism—the so-called "Word of Wisdom."

3The whole church numbered only about 50 baptized members in June, 1830. In "Newel Knight's Journal," Scrames of Biography, 52, the estimated number for June, 1830, is only 30 baptized members. David Whitmer in his Address to All Believers in Christ, 3, estimates 70 members for April, 1830. This latter estimate is far too high, since the Prophet himself lists a total of only 79 for December, 1830 (History of the Church, I, 133). Cf. History of the Church, I, 77, note.
promise of the rich Mormon harvest to be gathered there over the next few months.

And thus it was that by early November, 1830, the narrow trails of three important American religious movements—all in their infancy, had intersected in an obscure and densely forested township of the Western Reserve. Western Shakerism, Middle-State Campbellism, and Eastern Mormonism, all of them so similar in social sources and spiritual aspirations, had begun to converge on the Mentor area in 1826. In that year the western Shakers had set up North Union—an outclan of the Kentucky Revival. In that same year Alexander Campbell and his first leading elder Sidney Rigdon had baptized one another and thus formed the Campbellite church. That same year Rigdon had become a neighbor of the Shakers and founded the Rigdonite Family. That same year Joseph Smith and his first leading elder, Oliver Cowdery, had immersed one another, thus starting a church of two members: the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormon).

* * *

Ever since the establishment of the Family on Isaac Morley’s farm the Shakers of North Union had been avidly following local religious events. When the “four heralds” now assisted by a convert from the Family, arrived in Mentor, the Shakers were suffering, along with the Campbellites, the bitter feelings of a personality clash. But this did not prevent news of the astonishing success of the Mormons in Kirtland from sharpening their intense interest in the religious excitement that swirled around them.

Nor did the Shakers balk at the strangeness of the new doctrines. As firm believers in continuous revelation they could easily accept the story of the angel, the golden plates, and the Jewish pre-history of the Indians. A dozen years later the Shakers were circulating a revelation so close in plot and details to the Book of Mormon that it was very likely plagiarized
from that work; and they shared many other beliefs with the Mormons. They would not have to wait long to compare notes.

On November 11, 1830, the five missionaries arrived in Warrensville township, close by North Union, and began preaching to the local inhabitants. Having announced their mission to the Lamanites, they proceeded to describe the remarkable conversion, only a fortnight before, of at least a score of Rigdonites—including Rigdon himself. Even if they already knew of these sensational events, the settlers of Warrensville must have been impressed; for the Mormon missionaries found the religious soil of Warrensville just about as fertile as that of Kirtland. Before two weeks had passed they were able to baptize about eighty persons. Before June of 1831 Parley P. Pratt would return with John Murdock (one of the converts) and baptize scores more. By December 31, 1831, so many settlers had embraced the new faith that a second branch of the western church had to be organized.

The Mormon missionaries, who indirectly owed so much of their success in Kirtland to the Shakers, could hardly omit nearby North Union from their westward itinerary. And when they knocked at the gates of the community, the dictatorial Kitchell could not turn away beings of such intense interest to

1See the "Brief Sketch of This Continent and Its Ancient Inhabitants ... by Brother Thomas Iskawaw" (1842), ms., WRHS. A Mormon student of the early Shakers concluded that "Brother Iskawaw" was certainly familiar with the Book of Mormon. Daryl Chase, "The Early Shakers," 213-211. Many Mormon missionaries left copies of their scriptures at Shaker communities. The library begun in 1834 by the Ministry of Mount Lebanon with the purchase of 120 volumes contained everything from Sexual Physiology (crossed out) to Practical Carp Culture, but every title accurately reflected their interests; and among the titles were the three basic works of Mormon theology: the Doctrine and Covenants (1835 ed.), the Book of Mormon (1830 ed.), and Parley P. Pratt's Voice of Warning (1837 ed.). See under Jan. 6, 1834, in the Mt. Lebanon, N.Y., Society of Believers, "Journal of Records, 1830-1851"; and "Books Belonging to Ministry's Library" (Mt. Lebanon, N.Y., 1879), both mss. in WRHS.


him and to his flock. But he could, and did, make careful observations of
their words and deeds.

Taking out his little pocket journal Kitchell noted matter-of-factly
upon their arrival that one of the five men "by the name of Lowdree [Cowdery]\n... stated that he had been one who had been an assistant in the transla-
tion of the Golden Bible." 1 Kitchell was unusually openminded with Cowdery,
inviting him to speak and to remain for two nights and one day within the
pale of the community. But although Cowdery's efforts very probably brought
several Shakers into the new faith, the immediate results were inconclusive.
To a large extent the possibility of a mass conversion would have depended
on the acceptance of Mormon doctrine by Elder Kitchell, and Kitchell was baf-
bled. Mormon doctrine was too seductive to shake his fist at and too unoffi-
cial to embrace. He was in a quandary that his own inflexible mind could
never resolve. Searching for a precedent, he found none—either in his own
experience or in that of "the lead" at New Lebanon. He wrote to New Lebanon
for advice, but received none; for New Lebanon had already decided to dismiss
him from his post at North Union. 2 Without advice the most he could do was
show cordiality. But he could also visit Kirtland to find out what had hap-
pened to the Shaker-like Family. He had already maintained the friendliest
relations with the Family for over two years. Perhaps, dramatically, he
could finally win them over to Shakerism.

* * *

1Ashbel Kitchell's "Pocket Journal," ms., WRHS. This invaluable manu-
script could not be located in the WRHS Shaker collection. I am deeply
indebted to Dr. Edward Deming Andrews for the use of excellent notes he had
taken on it several years ago.

2The year 1830 was marked by several apostasies from North Union.
James S. Prescott, "Records of the Church at North Union," ms., WRHS. And
in 1834 or early 1835 the community was rocked by a mass exodus. David Spinn-
ing to Rufus Bishop of New Lebanon, North Union, Feb. 21, 1835, p. 1.

3See below, chapter iii. 4Pocket journal of Ashbel Kitchell.
Meanwhile, reports of Rigdon's latest delusion had been pouring southward toward Campbell's headquarters at Bethany, Virginia. Rigdon had added the insult of Mormonism to the injury of communitarianism. In Mormonism Campbell saw a religion as blasphemous as atheistic Owenism. He also saw an opportunity to destroy an opponent as sweetly inviting as his universally acclaimed and "victorious" debate with Owen.

Campbell entered the lists as the first able exposér of Mormonism. Through his recently begun periodical, the *Millennial Harbinger*, he kept a caustic eye on the doings of "Brother Sidney," and during the next few months he devoted much of this time to a careful study of the *Book of Mormon*. The publication in 1832 of his sarcastic analysis of the Mormon bible only sharpened the bitter ill-will between Mormon and Campbellite.

Back in the Western Reserve, however, Rigdon's sensational switch of loyalties had, in part, an opposite effect. Soon after his conversion Rigdon left for Fayette, New York, to visit the Prophet, and his departure seems to have intensified the loyalty of many Rigdonites—especially among the communitarians at Kirtland, where it touched off a veritable explosion of Shaker-like, revivalistic phenomena. There took place, wrote the anti-Mormon editor of the *Painesville Telegraph*, "all the apish action imaginable"—crinacés, crawling on hands and feet, rolling on the frozen ground, going

through with all the Indian modes of warfare, such as knocking down, scalping, ripping open and tearing out the bowels. At other times, they would run through the fields, get upon stumps, preach to imaginary congregations . . . Many would have fits of speaking all the different Indian dialects, which none could understand. Again, at the dead hour of night, the young men might be seen running over the fields and hills in pursuit, as they said, of the balls of fire, lights, &c., which they saw moving through the atmosphere.¹

Some received invisible gifts from heaven: golden letters, spiritual messages, and the white stones promised in the second chapter of Revelation. Others,

shaken by the Spirit, would jump and run about. One, Thomas Jones (very possibly the solitary "African" blacksmith at North Union, now an apostate to the Rigdonites), fancied himself capable of flight.

These "operations" cannot be dismissed as merely another outbreak of Kentucky-style revivalism. Every operation, with the possible exception of the attempted flight, was a standard part of Shaker worship. Some of them, like the "turning exercise," the grimaces, the "rolling exercise," the mock warfare, and the almost uniquely Shaker practice of pursuing imaginary objects over fields and hills, had been formalized as regular rituals among the Shakers. Indeed, ever since the Kentucky Revival the Shakers had been gradually taming, humanizing, and institutionalizing the gymnastics and theatrics of revivalism. This they did mainly by channeling such energies into their ritual dances, dances whose precise choreographies incorporated make-believe with as much artistry as any modern ballet.

The Shaker-inspired "operations" at Kirtland were not the only Rigdonite activities that followed the master's departure for Fayette. For just as these Kirtland phenomena were whirling to a peak in January, 1831, one of Rigdon's more zealous disciples decided to establish a second Rigdonite "family." This man, whose name has not come down to us, owned a two-story house in the county seat of Chardon, a few miles south of Kirtland. After

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1 Western Courier, Feb. 17, 1831, reprinted from the Geauga Gazette, Feb. 1, 1831. The Negro was an ex-slave who had been brought from Union Village, in southern Ohio, in 1822.

2 Shaker exercises and dances are sympathetically and accurately described in F. D. Andrews, The People Called Shakers, 27-31, 43, 77, 81-82, 136-152, 166-171. Dr. Andrews has noted that by 1830 the Shakers had either abandoned most of the "operations" or indulged in them irregularly, as in what the Shakers called "Shaker high" or the "promiscuous" or "back" manner of worship. Nevertheless, the "back" manner of worship, as I have pointed out above (a. 53), persisted strongly at North Union—undoubtedly as a legacy of its Kentucky origins.
recruiting several persons wanting to live the communal life he proceeded to
tear out the partitions on the lower floor to make a common room. A new com-
community had begun, a community whose existence seems to have escaped the
notice of any historian of Mormonism.

Misdirected and uninformed, the communitarians of Chardon reduced a
noble ideal to a simple-minded farce. At mealtime the cook simply placed on
the table a single large pan of meat and potatoes, their usual fare, into
which the members, all standing, dipped their hands. Walking about the room,
they devoured their food from greasy fingers as they went. In matters of
apparel and other personal belongings all was chaos. Members took whatever
they found not in use anywhere in the family. The community was supposedly
self-governing, but had no real leadership, either appointed or elected, dur-
ing the winter of 1830-31. Benjamin Shattuck, a member who had joined with
his wife and two children, saw these and many other "disagreeable and renug-
nant" things and endured them for the sake of faith. But when the family
elected as its leader one Edson Fuller—a forger and thief not long out of
the penitentiary—it was almost too much to bear. Shattuck stayed on. But
by the early spring of 1831 his wife and children needed clothing; and since
the community was too poor and too disorganized to earn enough money to clothe
its members, Shattuck sought temporary work outside the community. By April
he had had enough and quit. No further trace of the Chardon family has been
discovered, and it may be assumed that its internal weaknesses led to its
complete and permanent dissolution by the late spring of 1831.

1Western Courier, Feb. 17, 1831, reprinted from the Cæaura Gazette,
Feb. 1, 1831. The Gazette for Feb. 1, 1831, is no longer extant. It was
probably to this Bigdonite family that John Whitmer referred when he wrote of
the "church at Chardon" in his "History of the Church," ms. in the Library of
the Reorganized Church, Independence, Mo., p. 29.

2Salemville Telegraph, April, 1831.

3It may be that Chardon escaped attention because news of it was car-
ried mainly by an obscure local newspaper rarely consulted in the history of
The existence, however short-lived, of a second Rigdonite community at
Chardon underlines the power of the communitarian impulse that Joseph Smith
would encounter in the Kirtland area. In acting out the acts of the Apostles
the Rigdonites had only pursued the Primitive Christianity preached by their
leader; but in the absence of Rigdon's moderating, if somewhat erratic, lead-
ership they had made Primitive Christianity too primitive. Plagued by dis-
order and wracked by emotional excesses, Rigdonite communitarianism could
only die; and, in dying, it would have a profound effect on the structure of
early Mormonism. For it had no sooner died than a zealous group of New York
Mormons known as the Colesville Saints established a third community at
Thomson, Ohio.

* * *

The fact that the Colesville Saints adopted, with the aid and sympathy
of the Prophet, a communitarian way of life in Ohio raises two questions about
the relative influence of Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith in the rise of Mormon
communitarianism.

Had Joseph Smith already decided to establish a millennial community
before arriving in Ohio? Mormon students of his revelations think so, and
they are probably right. But there is no evidence that the Prophet had any
definite plan in mind.

Did Sidney Rigdon convert the Prophet to communitarianism? Very prob-
amably he did. While all the millennial sects of the age contained the seeds
of communitarian life, Joseph never showed any inclination in New York to
establish a community. On the other hand, the spiritual history of Rigdon,
the continued existence of the Family, the Prophet's fervent desire to convert

Mormonism. Some students may have read it as an erroneous newspaper account
of the Kirtland family. Indeed, Sidney Rigdon's son, John W. Rigdon, thought
the Kirtland family was located in neither Kirtland nor Chardon, but in a
third town, Hiram, Portage county. John W. Rigdon, "The Life Story of Sidney
Rigdon," ms. in the Church Historian's Office, S. L. C.
all the Rigdonites, and above all, Rigdon's immediate and startling influence in the church all seem to indicate that he converted the Prophet at least to the principle of communitarianism.

And thus it was that on the banks of tiny streams in the backwoods of Ohio and Pennsylvania many apparently unrelated events—miniscule events that portended so much—converged in the waters of sectarian baptism. Near Peters creek in western Pennsylvania Sidney Rigdon sought truth among the Reformed Baptists and seemed to find it among the Campbellites as he moved northward toward the Western Reserve, admiring all the while the Christian communism of the Rappites. Near Turtle creek in southern Ohio the backwoods revivals of Kentucky attracted three Shaker heralds from New York state and led to the birth of western Shakerism at Union Village. Near Doan's Brook in the Western Reserve the mystically minded Ralph Russell sought a religion that offered emotional fulfillment along with salvation and found the Shakerism of Union Village. The irascible Rigdon, crossing new streams of religious activity in the Mentor area found Russell's community about the time it was taken over by the pugnacious Ashbel Kitchell; later, just about the time he and Kitchell were both being removed from their respective offices, he encountered the "Four Heralds" of Mormonism, one of whom, Parley P. Pratt, was one of his own former converts.

The single idea common to all these complex influences was that of religious and perhaps, at times, Owenite communitarianism. The most important fruit of these influences for the history of Mormonism was the establishment of at least two Rigdonite "families" in the Kirtland area, one of which went over to Mormonism en masse. The crisscrossing of persons and notions was

1David Whitmer, Address to All Believers in Christ, 35. It is noteworthy that Joseph shared his last revelation in Fayette—involving the great power of excommunication—with Rigdon.
complete in the 1830's, when several Rappites joined the Mormons and found the second in command to be Sidney Rigdon. And when Rigdon embraced Mormonism in 1831, Mormonism became a communitarian—at first an almost Shaker—religion.

The situation that confronted Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon in Ohio in 1831 enabled both men to share in the honor of having founded a communitarian Zion. Just before the arrival of the Prophet in Ohio the spiritual and economic chaos in both the Kirtland and Chardon families was reaching a climax. The Kirtland family's exaggeration of Shaker exercises and the Chardon family's caricature of both Shakerism and Christian communism would make it easy for Rigdon, upon his return, to dissociate himself from both groups. The same chaos and folly, however, offered Joseph Smith just the opportunity he needed to incorporate Rigdonism by reorganizing and disciplining it. In Fayette the Lord had already promised a new law for the Rigdonites. And this law Joseph the Prophet soon promulgated as "The More Perfect Law of the Lord."

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\[LD & C, 38: 32-37 (Jan. 2, 1831).\]
CHAPTER III

THE MORE PERFECT LAW OF THE LORD

Shakerism did undoubtedly influence all American religious experiments and many communal ones, but the problem of making the relationship definable is apparently insoluble.

—Whitney R. Cross (1944)

The year 1831 opened with a prospect great and glorious for the welfare of the kingdom.

—Joseph Smith (1831)

Of the three backwoods orthodoxies common to the background of all three groups, the immediate religious source of Campbellism was chiefly Baptist, that of the western Shakers largely schismatic Presbyterian, and that of the eastern Mormons strongly Methodist. But this background in denominational orthodoxy is almost meaningless when compared to the effect of similar social sources, of common millennial doctrines, and of actual contact among leaders. In 1829, after having been infected with the Shaker version of Christian communism, Rigdon baptized Parley P. Pratt, whose family was connected with the Shakers. Pratt, in turn, carried his new faith to Fayette, New York, where his Rindonite baptism at the hands of the first Campbellite elder, Rigdon, was now succeeded by a new baptism at the hands of the first

1 It has even been argued, unconvincingly and unhistorically, that Mormon polity was mainly inspired by Methodism. See George S. Tanner, "The Religious Environment in Which Mormonism Arose" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Church History, Univ. of Chicago, 1931). Tanner argues mostly by analogy: the Methodist circuit was probably the model for the Mormon ward; the district, for the Mormon stake; etc. But even if this line of reasoning were persuasive, actual historical contacts must also be shown. I feel that all such analyses of doctrine are somewhat artificial, and have alluded in my text to the three orthodoxies only as a gesture to church historians of the old school.

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Mormon elder, Cowdery. Finally, in November, 1830, the first Mormon elder, Cowdery, baptized the first Campbellite elder, Rigdon.

The series of events that had begun with Pratt's investigation of the Golden Plates story in New York led to a concatenation of baptisms that came to a climax with the conversion of seventeen Riedonites in Kirtland. But it would be some time yet before the still waters of the baptizing pools, so continually disturbed by the backwoods quest for salvation, would once more be quieted. And the full significance of the mass conversion at Kirtland would emerge only after December, 1830, when Sidney Rigdon travelled to Fayette, New York, to meet the great prophet in person.  

As soon as he could put his affairs in order the thirty-seven-year-old Rigdon started on the long and arduous journey of over two hundred and fifty miles to scrutinize the claims of the extraordinary twenty-five-year-old prophet. To accompany him he chose Edward Partridge, whose gentle, long-suffering personality tended to conceal the consuming religious faith that burned within him. Only two years younger than Rigdon, Partridge was even more cautious in accepting Mormonism, for he firmly refused to be immersed along with other Riedonites till he had seen the Mormon prophet and listened to him.

These two dignified gentlemen arrived in Fayette in December, 1830,

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1Since, for the Mormons, the Mormon faith was directly formed by the hand of God, the conversion of the family has no significance whatsoever. Even a university-trained Mormon who has studied the Mormons in Kirtland can write an article on the "Mormon Economy in Kirtland" without even mentioning the family by name. Passing over the history of the family with a single sentence, Prof. R. Kent Fielding writes that the Ohio converts "lived principally upon an eighty-acre farm owned by Isaac Morley and evidently had little property of their own." See R. Kent Fielding, "The Mormons in Kirtland," Utah Hist. Qtz., XXVII (Oct., 1959), 333. This is a good example of the Mormon habit of writing their history as a theology completely abstracted from the genteel context of that history.

2History of the Churc, I, 120. For his intense religiosity see his proselytizing letters in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.
and had hardly met the Prophet when the voice of the Lord spoke to them in two separate revelations. First He spoke to Rigdon, saying that He had looked with favor upon Rigdon's works, but would now prepare him for greater things. Rigdon's doctrine of "baptism unto repentance" was correct, but those who had been baptized by him had not really received the Holy Ghost. Rigdon should tarry for a while in Fayette until Joseph could travel with him back to Ohio. In conclusion the Lord promised him that if he kept all the commandments and remained loyal to Joseph, he would live to see Satan tremble, and Zion flourish; and he could hope to receive the keys of authority, to find redemption, and to possess the kingdom.

The voice from the whirlwind swept Rigdon off his feet. The famous words of Martin Luther concerning his enemy Thomas Muenzer applied to Rigdon and, indeed, to almost all the early Mormons. Muenzer, scoffed the early Reformer, "had swallowed the Holy Ghost feathers and all."

To Partridge the Lord spoke in less awesome tones, for although the Prophet later came to treasure Partridge as a "pattern of piety and one of the Lord's great men," the Lord's great man in December, 1830, was the gifted, renowned, and more useful Sidney Rigdon. Thus the short revelation supposedly directed to Partridge mentioned the pious hatter but once, while Rigdon's name, looming larger in the plans of the Lord, is mentioned twice—and then on a footing of equality with Joseph Smith himself.

Rigdon's imposing credentials as an influential religious leader, his reputation as a vibrant millennial preacher, his impressive learning, and his solemn demeanor all conspired to drive the first elder, Oliver Cowdery, from the mind of the Prophet. It was as though Oliver Cowdery had never

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1D & C, 35.  
2D & C, 36.  
3History of the Church, I, 128.
existed, and from this time forward Sidney Rigdon became First Elder to the Prophet—exactly the status he had hitherto enjoyed under Alexander Campbell. And in his new capacity Rigdon immersed the water-shy Partridge in the frigid currents of the Seneca river on December 11, 1830. Four days later he ordained Partridge a Mormon elder.

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The extraordinary young man whom Rigdon had sought out in December, 1830, had been too busy throughout the fall and winter to give much thought to his four missionaries to the Lamanites. For most of the three years before Rigdon's arrival the Prophet had been living in his wife's home in Harmony (now Susquehanna), Pennsylvania, just south of the New York border. He seemed happy enough there until July, 1830, when his father-in-law, Isaac Hale, having concluded that Smith was simply a lazy necromancer, commanded him to leave the Hale household and seek a living. When the Whitmers, a pious family of converts in Fayette, New York, heard of the Prophet's misfortune, they kindly offered their hospitality. The Prophet immediately accepted, and as soon as he had moved to his new home he set about building his church into something more than the tiny clublike fraternity it then was.

In the summer of 1830 the Prophet could count only about five or six families among his supporters, and if one included in-laws and other relatives, two of these families, the Smiths and the Whitmers, accounted for more than half the thirty or more baptized members. He knew that he needed more converts like the loyal Whitmers if he were to survive as a religious leader, and from the moment of his arrival in Fayette in August, 1830, to the coming of Rigdon in early December he bent every effort toward the expansion of

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1 Journal History, Dec. 11, 1830.

membership. Every single revelation issued during this short period was concerned with the assignment of missions, among them the mission to the Lamanites and a special mission for Ezra Thayre, one of the first Shaker converts to the church. This series of missionary revelations ended with the arrival of Rigsdon—the first real fruit of the Lamanite mission and the herald of a new era for his movement.

If Rigsdon had been psychologically receptive to new things after his dispute with Campbell, the Prophet was perhaps even more receptive to new views after having been cast out by Isaac Hale. Homeless and harried by petty persecution, he was ready for a complete change of scenery. The West beckoned as it always had for prophets without honor in their own communities; and the Prophet's very first revelation in Fayette, even before the arrival of Rigsdon, promised that Zion would be built in the West "on the borders by the Lamanites"—that is, somewhere near the Missouri river. Soon after Rigsdon's arrival he confirmed this decision by dispatching his faithful John Whitmer to Kirtland with the news. The "gathering" (of the elect in the last days) would take place in the West; and the Prophet repeatedly warned the Saints that the last days were close at hand, thus whipping up their millennial expectations—so much so that most Saints expressed a desire to begin gathering in the Center Place of Zion at once.

This pressure from his own followers and the rising tide of persecution compelled the Prophet to make some kind of decision as to time and place. He never made the Millerite mistake of predicting the exact date of the Second Coming and nimbly avoided this trap for the rest of his career. No less cautious was his attitude toward the naming of a particular place. For almost a year, from September, 1830, to July, 1831, his followers could only guess at

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1\textit{D \\& C}, sections 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, and 34.
the exact location of Zion; the Lord would reveal the Center Place only after the mission to the Lamanites returned with a concrete report on western soil conditions and land prices. Moreover, he needed some kind of direct providential excuse. In this respect Rigdon's conversion was a Godsend, for it opened up a door of escape to the West.

The Prophet now received three important revelations in rapid succession. First, knowing that Rigdon was obsessed with the "restoration" of the primitive church, he issued an extraordinary revelation that Mrs. Brodie has termed "one of the longest and most remarkable of his career"—the so-called "Extracts from the Prophecy of Enoch." Several years later, in explaining the origin of this revelation, Joseph wrote that "much conjecture and conversation had frequently occurred concerning the lost books" mentioned in the Bible. Among the lost books known to the Apostolic Church was the "Prophecy of Enoch," which Jude had mentioned in the New Testament and parts of which the Lord now saw fit to restore. And thus, "to the joy of the little flock, which in all, from Colesville to Canandaigua, New York, numbered about seventy members, did the Lord reveal the . . . doings of olden times."

Shortly after restoring these "words of Enoch" the Lord spoke once again in a second revelation, in which he commanded his Prophet not to do any more translating "until ye shall go to Ohio." By this indirect allusion—the first in any revelation—to Ohio as a place of gathering the die was cast. Ohio had entered Mormon scripture and was now to be the eastern boundary of the Land of Zion.

1D & C, 20: 9 (Sept., 1837); 42: 35 (Feb. 9, 1831); 48: 5 (March, 1831); 57: 1-5 (July, 1831).
2No Man Knows My History, 96. 3History of the Church, I, 133-139.
6E. J. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 111, quoting a letter from the Prophet to the Kirtland Saints. Joseph had appointed John Whitmer a special courier to carry this letter to Kirtland.
On his way back to Kirtland Rigdon, probably with the approval of the Prophet, specifically named Kirtland, Ohio, as the first place of gathering. Late in January, 1831, while preaching the wrath to come to an audience of non-Mormons in Waterloo, Seneca county, New York, Rigdon exhorted them to follow him and the rest of the elect to a land beyond the "western waters." The first destination for all seekers after the Kingdom would be Kirtland, Ohio—the eastern border of a Land of Promise "which extends thence to the Pacific Ocean, embracing a territory of fifteen hundred miles . . . from north to south." ¹

Some question now remained as to whether the eastern Saints would follow their Prophet to Ohio. In his third revelation, announced at the conference which helped close down church affairs in the east, the Prophet offered true believers no other choice. Promising a new law in Ohio, the Lord warned the Saints once again of the imminence of the last day and reminded them of the necessity of keeping His commandments (the revelations given to Smith). If they were faithful and obedient, they would enter the Kingdom, "a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey, the land of their inheritance forever." The Lord recalled to their minds the translation into heaven of the righteous, equalitarian City of Enoch described in the restored "Prophecy of Enoch," and commanded those in authority to appoint officers to administer the property of the church for the equal benefit of all. He advised those who could not sell their farms to rent them, or even, if necessary, to abandon them; for in due time they would enjoy both the riches of earth and the riches of eternity. ²

¹Western Courier, Feb. 17, 1831. Two weeks before Rigdon gave this sermon John Whitmer had arrived in Kirtland with the same news, but omitted the north-south measurement. Painesville Telegraph, Jan. 18, 1831; Ohio Star, Jan. 27, 1831.

²D & G, 38.
Of the thirty-odd Saints attending the conference which heard this revelation some thought that the final phrases enjoining them to sacrifice their property were directed less at their own spiritual improvement than at the Prophet's financial advancement. As it turned out, losses of property were incurred mainly by a small zealous knot of followers who were not even present at the conference: members of the Colesville, New York, branch of the church. Once in Ohio the Colesville Saints would supply the membership of the first Mormon utopian community.

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Of the three revelations issued by the Prophet in preparing to leave for Ohio, the "Prophecy of Enoch" was by far the most important. Its roots lie deep in the history of communitarian perfectionism from the time of the Essenes to the time of the Shakers, and it is essential to the understanding of the Mormon United Order of Enoch.

Non-Mormon writers have always considered this curious production simply another figment of the Prophet's imagination, a tour de force functioning only to strengthen the faith of his followers and to inspire awe in Sidney Rigdon. But the "Prophecy of Enoch" also provided the Prophet with a spacious theological framework for communitarian institutions as yet unplanned; it supplied him with scriptural flourishes for the infinite embellishment of Rigdonite communism; it was an instrument for accommodating Mormonism to Rigdonism without incurring a debt to Sidney Rigdon.

The practical value of the "Prophecy of Enoch" to Joseph Smith was undoubtedly great. But the prophecy also revealed his characteristic love of "lost scriptures," a love which the Mormons shared with several other sectarians.

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1John Whitmer, "History of the Church," chapter 11. Suspicions of this kind were more usual among the enemies of the church. Although the Prophet was always the chief beneficiary of the Saints' generosity, the frequent statement that he swindled them is not supported by any evidence.
of the age, both in England and America. For the Prophet nothing in the theo-
logical universe was mysterious, and he had always loved "hidden things"—
buried treasures, buried books, biblical puzzles, and buried altars, and
buried Indians—for the challenge they offered to uncover and explain them.

Even before the arrival of Sidney Rigdon in New York Joseph's fasci-
nation with the secrets of the past had led him to experiment with the direct
revelation of "lost books," the existence of which had not even been mentioned
in the Bible. First, he translated a fragment from a parchment, which, he
said, had been buried by Saint John. Next, he supplied a conversation between
Moses and God which the Hebrews had wickedly omitted from the Pentateuch;
this he called the "Writings of Moses." Finally, just before Rigdon returned
to Ohio he issued extracts from a lost book that had been mentioned by Jude

An official reading of the restored prophecy took place with consider-
able pomp and circumstance on January 2, 1831, at a conference of the church.
The twenty or thirty joyful listeners had often wondered about Enoch, as had
many generations of Bible readers before them. The fifth chapter of Genesis
merely stated that Enoch had "walked with God" for three hundred years. Then,

1See Jude 14-15. Although many Mormons still call it the "Prophecy
of Enoch," this revelation was simply another installment in his continuing
restoration of the "Writings of Moses." These "Writings" constitute about
half the matter in a separate unit of the Mormon canon known as The Pearl of

The Reorganized Church erroneously included the "Prophecy of Enoch"
in the Reorganized version of the Doctrine and Covenants and also inserted
the whole of it in the Inspired Version of the Bible as Genesis 7: 1-73.

The fragment of St. John had consisted of only three verses in the
first printed collection of revelations, the Book of Commandments (Independ-
ence, Mo., 1833). Mistakenly assuming that every copy of the Book of Command-
ments had been destroyed by an anti-Mormon mob in 1833—before any had been
distributed to the Saints—the Prophet took the opportunity of changing the
title of the collected revelations from the Book of Commandments to the Doc-
trine and Covenants. At the same time, and without notifying the Saints, he
elaborated the rediscovered parchment of Saint John from three meager verses
in the Book of Commandments (1833) to three more detailed verses.
suddenly, Enoch "was not; for God took him."

What had become of Enoch? Had he been assumed into heaven like Elijah?

This was the usual explanation. Indeed the bodily translation of Enoch had been an ancient tradition among the Jews, a tradition preserved by a passage in the Apocrypha and accepted by the great apostle to the gentiles, Paul himself. 1 Now in the nineteenth century God finally saw fit to reveal the "doings of olden times" through his prophet, Joseph Smith. 2 The cryptical remark in Genesis about Enoch's fate was merely the starting point for the Prophet's flight into the unknown.

As they listened to these "doings" as recounted in the "Prophecy of Enoch," many in the audience recognized some things familiar to them from the Book of Mormon. The seed of Cain, for example, were cursed with black skins for their iniquities. Also known to them from the Book of Mormon were the pious "Jews" of Genesis, who professed both tritheism and baptism. The really exciting parts of the Prophecy concerned God's people, whom the Lord called "Zion" because they were of one heart and one mind and dwelt in righteousness and because "there were no poor among them." According to the Prophecy as revealed through Joseph, Enoch had preached to these people (Zion) and had built a city for them: "the City of Holiness, even Zion." In the Deluge God had cursed the wicked but had spared the City of Zion and had taken the whole city up into heaven along with Enoch the prophet. Upon Enoch's supplication God had saved Noah by commanding the waters to recede. Then God had "opened up" the future to Enoch from the time of Noah through the Resurrection and through the publication of the Book of Mormon to the Second Coming of Christ in the nineteenth century, when Christ, with Enoch at his side, 3 would gather

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1See Ecles. 11:16; 49: 11:1; and Heb. 11:5.

2History of the Church, I, 133.

3Joseph explained in 1841 that whenever God translated anybody He did so because that person was destined to perform a future mission. In this case Enoch was destined to greet the elect of the nineteenth (and last) century in the Mormon Zion. Edward Stevenson, "Life and History of Elder Edward Stevenson," ms., Church Historian's Office, S. L. C.
the elect and prepare a Holy City, the New Jerusalem.

The audience knew that they themselves were the elect—the Latter-Day Saints—who even now were preparing to move to the New Jerusalem somewhere in the American West. There in the last days the gathered elect would be spared under the new Enoch, Joseph Smith, and then all the Saints would join Enoch of old in the bosom of the Lord.

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The most remarkable fact about Joseph's rediscovered "Prophecy of Enoch" was neither its length, nor its originality, nor its effectiveness. It is the simple fact that the "Prophecy" had already been rediscovered by bona fide scriptural scholars.

In the late eighteenth century a British traveller in Africa chanced upon an Ethiopic version of the Hebrew original of what is now called the Book of Enoch. Since English scholars lagged behind the continent in Ethiopic language studies, it was not until 1821 that an English version, translated by an Oxford don named Richard Laurence, appeared in print. By 1831 this version had been available in the United States for ten years, so there was no need for Joseph Smith to "restore" it by direct revelation in 1 January, 1831. The Mormons soon became aware of this embarrassing fact, and was probably for this reason that they did not print the "Prophecy of Enoch" until 1851; and when they did it was in Liverpool, England, and the "Prophecy" appeared without any title as part of a larger work. It is quite

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1See Richard Laurence (ed. and trans.), The Book of Enoch the Prophet: an apocryphal production, supposed to have been lost for ages; but discovered at the close of the last century in Abyssinia; now first translated from an Ethiopic MS, in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1821). The standard modern edition is R. H. Charles (ed. and trans.), The Book of Enoch (Oxford, 1893). But in the 1950's fragments of the original Enoch turned up among the akkadian writings, and these will no doubt modify some of Charles' readings.

2See chapter vii of the "Book of Moses" in the Pearl of Great Price (Liverpool, 1851). Joseph's manuscript version of this chapter was entitled the "Writings of Moses."
probable, indeed, that Joseph had read the English translation of the Book of
Enoch—as it is properly called—before making up his "Prophecy of Enoch."
This would make his "Prophecy of Enoch" an imaginative elaboration of the Book
of Enoch and an act surpassed in boldness only by his clandestine revision of
his own collection of revelations.

R. H. Charles, the great master of the Old Testament Apocrypha and of
the pseudopigrapha, stated that the Book of Enoch was, for the history of
theological development, "the most important pseudopigraph of the first two
centuries B.C." Nowhere was it more important than in the American communit-
tarian movement of the early nineteenth century. Not until the 1950's was
the primeval link between Enoch and the history of Christian communitarianism
forged—when the newly discovered Dead Sea Scrolls began to yield connections
between Enoch and the religious utopia of the Essenes.

The Book of Enoch was only one of several pseudopigraphic works newly
discovered or freshly studied in the early nineteenth century. For biblical
scholars it was a golden age; for the sectarians of the time it was an age
of pseudopigraphic excitement. By the early 1830's the publication of any

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1See above, p. 90, note 1. George B. Arbaugh, the only serious non-
Mormon student of Mormon scriptures, concluded that there was no connection
between the "Prophecy of Enoch" and the genuine Book of Enoch. Revelation
in Mormonism, 72. But Arbaugh seems to have been unaware of the translation,
as early as 1821, of the Book of Enoch; and as a student of scripture rather
than of American history he completely ignored the American historical con-
text of Smith's version of Enoch.

(Oxford, 1913), II, 163. See also his edition of the Book of Enoch (Oxford,
1893), lllf. Charles had little realization of the influence of Laurence's
translation on the millennial sects of the early nineteenth century. An
American biblical scholar has pointed out that the author of Enoch, as one
of the apocalyptic writers who preached the Second Coming, must be counted,
along with the writers of 2 Esdras, Daniel, the Book of Revelation, and
Second Isaiah, as a source for the New Testament conviction that the eschato-
logical Kingdom of God had broken into human history. The apocalyptic books
experienced a resurgence of influence in the American communitarian movement.
See Albert T. Mollegen, "The Religious Basis of Western Socialism," in D. D.
Egbert and Stow Persons (eds.), Socialism and American Life (2 vols.;
Princeton, 1952), I, 100-102.
rediscovered scriptural work was an event that quickly found its way into the columns of American county newspapers. The appearance of this or that "lost book" was thus common knowledge from the ancient arches of Oxford to the virgin forests of Ohio. Every discovery or translation of a "new" biblical book provoked the most intense interest both in England and America.

In 1832 an Ohio editor and printer named William Coolman, Jr., saw a profitable market in all this interest. Although he had been spending much of his time in publishing exposés of the "Golden Bible" of the Mormons, he now began collecting some of the better known extra-canonical books for publication. It is indicative of the intense concern of the age with these works that when Coolman ran for a local office the orthodox clergy tried to smear him by associating him with the pseudepigrapha. In defending Coolman another Ohio editor pointed out to the clergy that the compilation planned by Coolman had already passed through several editions in the United States. Indeed, within a few years the newly discovered works moved even the secular, normally quite conservative Painesville Telegraph to speak on millennial tones:

Recently the Book of Enoch has been discovered, translated from the Ethiopic and published in England. . . . The discovery of missing

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1Western Courier, Oct. 4, 1832; Western Reserve Chronicle, Oct. 9, 1834; William Orme, Bibliotheca Biblica (Edinburgh, 1824), 285.

2See the letter on the "Book of Jasher" reprinted in the Western Reserve Chronicle, Feb. 26, 1824, from the London Courier; and the story on the same book in the Western Intelligencer, Feb. 28, 1829. This interest continued well into the 1840's. See, for example, the Painesville Telegraph, May 28, 1840 (reprinted from the New York Star).

3Western Courier, Oct. 4, 1832. Coolman's manuscript included twenty-three "lost books" and was published as The Apocryphal New Testament . . . From the London edition (Ravenna, Ohio, 1832). The London edition referred to was that of William Hone, who first published his collection in 1820 under the same title. Hone's edition, in turn, leaned heavily on translations of apocryphal books made a century before by Jeremiah Jones (1693-1724). Jones' collection was brought out in a modern edition in Cleveland and New York in 1926 as The Lost Books of the Bible. Coolman's compilation was probably the first Ohio edition of these New Testament pseudepigrapha and was quickly followed by one printed in that enclave of Puritan culture centering on Chillicothe as The Apocryphal New Testament . . . (Chillicothe, 1835).
books . . . joined to the singular signs of the times in relation to
the chosen people, give great interest to this and similar works. 1

The Telegraph was getting its news late. Actually, Enoch had been in print
for about twenty years when this was written.

By contrast, the millennial sects of the time—the Mormons, the Shak-
ers, and even a few survivors of the seventeenth-century Muggletonians—
enthusiastically embraced these works. 2 In the United States the most popu-
lar lost books were the Book of Jasher and the Book of Enoch. Demand for
the latter became so great that the English publishers had to print a special
third edition in 1838 to supply the insatiable American market. 3 It seems
quite probable that the Mormon prophet had his own copy of the 1821 transla-
tion of Enoch; but, if he did, it has not survived.

* * *

Whatever may have been the contents of the Prophet's personal library,
it seems incontrovertible that he had read the authentic Book of Enoch before
issuing his own "Prophecy of Enoch"—and very probably before beginning the

1Painesville Telegraph, May 28, 1840.

2The 1837 edition of the pseudopigraphic Testaments of the Twelve
Patriarchs was expressly printed for the Muggletonians of Liverpool, who
accepted it as inspired. See Robert Sinker (ed.), Testamenta XII Patriarch-
orum: Appendix (Cambridge, 1879), 13. The Shakers probably based their
"Book of Moses" (ms., WRHS) on the Testaments, and were very much concerned
with Enoch.

3The second edition (1833) of the Laurence translation had been quickly

4The Office of the Church Historian in Salt Lake City has only the
third edition of 1838, and this copy bears no evidence that it belonged to the
Prophet. The library of the Reorganized Church in Independence, Mo.,
aqquired the bulk of the Prophet's library and his personal effects, but lost
much of its invaluable collection in a disastrous fire in 1909. The Reorgan-
ized Church did have a copy of the 1821 edition, but it had never been cata-
logued and was lost or misplaced during the construction of the vast new head-
quarters building in Independence in 1957. It could not be located at that
time by the Historian of the Reorganized Church.

During the anti-Mormon riots of 1838 in Far West, Missouri, a group
of apostate Mormons headed by William McLellin plundered the Prophet's
library of "a number of very valuable books of great variety." History of
the Church, III, 286-287.
Book of Mormon. A comparative textual analysis of these three works bears this out.

The graceful Ethiopic letters of the original text of the Book of Enoch were included in the Laurence translation of 1821, and as they danced across the page in all their mysterious splendor they could easily beguile a youth already enamored of secret signs and symbols. The "Reformed Egyptian" characters of the golden plates of the Book of Mormon were, in a sense, the Ethiopic letters of western New York. This same youth undertook his "translation" of the Book of Mormon at a time when English-reading sectarianists were welcoming with mounting enthusiasm each new translation of "lost books."

The history of the Book of Mormon is reducible to the visions, to the discovery of plates, and to the translation. These basic facts are repeated in the Book of Enoch. Like the author of Enoch Joseph was knocked unconscious by a vision, and like him, had knowledge of certain secret tablets (plates) of heaven.

More striking and more important for the United Order of Enoch are the parallels between the original Book of Enoch and Joseph's "Prophecy of Enoch." Both works are mainly organized about a holy vision, received in heaven, of the future of the earth. In both, Enoch not only "walked with God" (Gen. 5: 22, 24), but talked with Him as well. In both, there occurs a vision of the earth submerged, of mountains destroyed, of the whole earth in fear and trembling, and of all life destroyed: all because of God's wrath against the wicked. Both works describe an era of excessive heat which made

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1R. Laurence, Book of Enoch, 11. 2Ibid., 152, 160.
3R. Laurence, Book of Enoch, 1; Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7: 22. Moses 7 is the "Prophecy of Enoch."
4R. Laurence, Book of Enoch, 1; Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7: 4, 20.
5R. Laurence, Book of Enoch, 1, 2; Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7: 13-
the earth barren; the "Prophecy of Enoch" colors this disastrous event even more by adding that the heat also made the skins of the "seed of Cain" black and "despised among all people." 1 Finally, the authors of both works elaborated extensively the first four verses of Genesis.

Not only does the "Prophecy of Enoch" closely parallel the Book of Enoch in these and many other details, but it even adheres at points to the

1. R. Laurence, Book of Enoch, 3; Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7: 8, 22. In the Book of Mormon God similarly cursed the Lamanites (American Indians) without the benefit of heat. Book of Mormon, 13 (2 Ne. 5: 21-22).

2. Genesis 6: 4 states that the "sons of God" came in unto the daughters of men and hints that these unions produced "giant in the earth." Unlike Genesis the Book of Enoch clearly describes the giants as products of these matings: as devouring, murdering monsters, whose mothers were sensual sorceresses and whose fathers (the "sons of God") had disobeyed the Lord by polluting themselves with earthly women. For these sins the earth would be destroyed and only Noah would escape. R. Laurence, Book of Enoch, 5-6, 8-10, 21.

During the same month that he issued his "extracts" from the "Prophecy of Enoch" the Prophet rounded out his version of the story of Enoch, by continuing it from where the extracts stopped. This continuation was eventually printed as chapter viii of the "Writings of Moses" in the Pearl of Great Price and contains an elaboration of Genesis 6: 4 paralleling the elaboration in the original Enoch. Here the giants were also evil offspring of earthly women and sought, besides, to murder Noah (verses 18-21). Their fathers were disobedient "sons of God" (verses 19-21). Their mothers were sexually immoral daughters of men and were guilty of prostitution (verse 15). Angered by the sins of both parents and sons, God destroyed the earth by a deluge from which only Noah escaped.

3. For example, in both works Enoch sees angels descending out of heaven. R. Laurence, Book of Enoch, 1; Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7: 25, 27.

In both, Enoch assigns the lackeys of the Evil One to a "prison" for the souls of the dead, where they would remain till some future judgment. It is interesting to note that within hours of issuing his "Prophecy of Enoch" the Prophet received the important revelation promising the United Order; strangely, in this revelation the prison is associated with the City of Enoch in the American West. See D & C, 38: 4-5. There is no such reference to the City of Enoch in the controversial "prison" verses of the New Testament (2 Pet. 2: 4; Jude 6). Possibly both Jude and Joseph Smith independently got the idea of a prison from the Book of Enoch. (See R. H. Charles, Book of Enoch, l2.) If so, Joseph's borrowing from the prison passages of the Book of Enoch are closer to the original.

Both the Mormon and the pseudopigraphic work mention Enoch's journeying about, preaching repentance with tremendous power. Laurence, 13-14; Moses 6: 26-27, 37-39; Moses 7: 2-17.

In both the Mormon and the pseudopigraphic work Enoch tries to assuage the anger of God against all sinners. Laurence, 14, 123; Moses 7: 41, 49.

Both works describe a period, some time after the deluge, when the
phraseology of the Laurence translation. There are many differences between
the Book of Enoch and the "Prophecy of Enoch," but perhaps the most signifi-
cant one is that in the former Enoch walked and conversed with God in heaven,
while in the latter he walked and talked with God on earth. In a revelation
of 1834 Joseph supplied further details on the life of Enoch, among them the
fact that Enoch had visited what is now the state of Missouri three years
before the death of Adam.

Enoch's Holy City had been located in North America at the time of its
translation. Joseph the Prophet considered himself a second Enoch who would
restore the city carried up into heaven along with the first Enoch. But this
second, Mormon City of Zion, unlike that described in the authentic Book of
Enoch, was to be a prosperous city of middle-class equality, an idyllic soci-
ety of free farmers and artisans who had "no poor among them"—of a people,

earth would be at rest—with only a few lesser chastisements from God. In the
"Prophecy of Enoch" this is the literal millennium of 1,000 years beginning
with the Second Coming of Christ; this millennium would be accompanied by
another chastizing judgment against the wicked who remained unrepentant even
after the Deluge. Moses 7: 59-66. In the Book of Enoch, though the millen-
nial period is less than 1,000 years, it is a very long time. (See Laurence,
10, verses 11-14, where time values are very uncertain. For a modern discus-
sion of this problem see R. H. Charles, Book of Enoch, 72, verse 5, note.)
But this period of perhaps 500 years was also to be heralded by the coming of
an Elect One, a Son of Man, a Messiah. Laurence, 45-50. And in the latter
days he who "repents not . . . shall perish." (p. 51) At the chiliastic comin
of the Messiah the elect would be blessed and the wicked destroyed.
Laurence, 1-2, 51, 52, 110, 152; Moses 7: 20ff., 66.

1The "Prophecy of Enoch" and the Book of Enoch make similar changes
in such Biblical phrases as "sons of God" and "sons of men." The "Prophecy"
also follows Laurence in departing from the King James "giants in the earth"
for "giants on the earth." Compare Laurence, Book of Enoch, 159, verse 16,
with the Pearl of Great Price, Moses 8: 18.


3Joseph Young, History of the Organization of the Seventies (Salt Lake
City, 1878), 10-12.

4See R. Laurence, Book of Enoch, 112, 113, 152.
as Brigham Young boasted in 1841, far more righteous than the citizens of the first City of Enoch and unequaled in virtue by any people since the beginning of time.

* * *

The thirty or forty poorly educated backwoods farmers who so joyfully witnessed Joseph's latter-day restoration of the "Prophecy of Enoch" had but little awareness of the wider world of cities and scholars. Probably many of them did not even "take the newspapers" which the Prophet himself so frequently scanned. It is hardly surprising, then, that not a single Saint rose up to remind him that the "Prophecy of Enoch" had already been available in English for ten years. What really seems surprising is that after a century and a half of anti-Mormon polemic, much of it devoted to proving the earthly origins of Mormon scriptures, no writer has noted the influence of either the Apocrypha or of the Book of Enoch on the rise of Mormonism.

The early nineteenth century was still an age of theological innocence not yet disturbed by the birth, at the time, of the so-called higher criticism of Christian scriptures. To the earliest writers on Mormonism it was self-evident that "Jo Smith" was either an imposter or a "deluded fanatic." As for the lost books, most contemporary conservative critics of Smith read them with far more skepticism than the Mormons—but with much the same eagerness. Conservative denominations felt that the lost books added nothing to the deposit of faith; but most sectarianists believed that they contained truths hidden from the eyes of mankind for ages.

The sectarian wave of enthusiasm for lost books had run its course by the Civil War. Later American historians of religion and society, concerned

1 *Times and Seasons*, 7, 652.

2 At least one writer, however, has connected such works with Mormon millennialism. See below, p. 103, n. 4.
as they were with the older denominations, have never noted it: it is a forgotten episode in American history.

The Mormons, already richly endowed with so many of the Prophet's scriptural revelations, were a little slow in accepting the lost books; but by the 1840's the Mormons had become their most ardent advocates. The Prophet himself was at first quite cautious about accepting such works, for they were obviously a threat to the uniqueness of his own revelations. Thus, in 1833 he wrote to William Wines Phelps and other church leaders, who were all badgering him for some official inquiry into the lost books, that they should not approach such works without the guidance of the Spirit:

We [Smith and Rigdon] have not found the Book of Jasher, nor any other of the lost books mentioned in the Bible as yet; nor will we obtain them at present. Respecting the Apocrypha, the Lord said to us that there were many things in it which were true, and there were many things in it which were not true, and to those who desire it, should be given by the Spirit to know the true from the false. We have received some revelations within a short time back, which you will obtain in due season . . .

Soon, however, Mormon preachers and missionaries began citing Jasher and other lost books to show that the discovery and translation of the lost plates of the Book of Mormon, far from being fantastic, were entirely in keeping with the widespread contemporary rediscovery of ancient scriptures. \(^2\) Mormon writers and editors praised these works lavishly, and of the dozen or more available by 1840 no single extracanonical work was more highly revered than the Book of Enoch. In a volume written to prove the authenticity of the

\(^{1}\)Letter of June 25, 1833 printed in the History of the Church, I, 363.

\(^{2}\)Henry Carwell, Prophet of the Nineteenth Century, 131; John Taylor, Three Nights' Public Discussion between the Rev'ds, C. W. Cleeve, James Robertson, and Philip Cather, and Elder John Taylor . . . at Boulogne-sur-mer, France (Liverpool, 1850), 11. The Strangites, a heretical Mormon sect, studied Jasher and very possibly another pseudepigraph called the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon. Louisa Sanger to James J. Strang, Ottawa, Ill., Apr. 18, 1857/07, Strang papers, Coe Collection, Yale University.
Book of Mormon a Mormon elder declared that the Book of Enoch had predicted
the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, the preaching of the Mormon elders,
and the fate of the anti-Mormon persecutors in Missouri. Of these three
alleged prophecies the first two are also contained in Joseph's "Prophecy of
Enoch."

In 1844 a Mormon newspaper, The Prophet, began the serial publication
of certain pseudepigraphic works of both Old and New Testaments, including
the Book of Enoch. In his preface to the first installment of Enoch the
editor asserted that the Book of Enoch was "certainly the most wonderful book
in the world and in some respects . . . superior to . . . all . . . the
other books" of the Old Testament.

Such was the profound importance of pseudepigraphic works to Mormonism.
Of the many read by the Mormons and their Prophet the Book of Enoch was the
most influential. It was as Enoch that the Prophet came to Ohio. And, as
Enoch, he came well armed with theological weapons.

* * *

Pseudepigraphic works like Enoch and Jasher, while numerous, could
hardly have satisfied the Prophet's yen for the "mysteries of the Kingdom."

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1 Charles Thompson, Evidences in Proof of the Book of Mormon, Being a Divinely Inspired Record, Written by the Forefathers of the Natives Who /sic/ We Call Indians . . . but Come Forth in Fulfillment of Prophecy . . . .
(Batavia, N. Y., 1841), printed in part in The Prophet, Dec. 21, 1844, p. 2,
cols. 3-4. Thompson's book is very rare, all copies having been called in by
Brigham Young for what he considered its heterodoxies.

2 The Prophet, June 22, 29, July 6, 13, 1844. See also Sept. 28, 1844, p. 2, col. 2.

3 Ibid., July 20, 1844.

4 It is possible that Smith also knew the Assumption of Moses, another
pseudepigraphic work, and that he used its basic theme in the Book of Mormon,
349 (Alma 5: 17-19). But the assumption of Moses is an ancient Judaico-
Christian tradition which could have been found elsewhere. So I have not
thought it worth pursuing. Apocryphal, as distinguished from pseudepigraphic,
influences on the Book of Mormon have been noted below, p. 103, n. 4.
Another extremely important source of the Prophet's ideas was that little-known collection of extra-canonical books of the King James Bible called the Apocrypha. Joseph knew no Greek, but doubtless his religious instincts told him that the word Apocrypha meant "hidden things."

At least as early as 1829, while he was still translating the golden plates, Joseph began an intensive study of these works. In that year he shared with his scribe, Oliver Cowdery, the price of a newly published Bible containing the Apocrypha. He realized that such bibles would soon be hard to come by, for in 1826 both the British and American Bible societies decided to stop printing the Apocrypha after 1827—a decision that the Palmyra newspaper noted with interest.  

On the title page of his new Bible Joseph wrote that it belonged to him and to Cowdery and that it had been purchased in Egbert Grandin's bookstore in Palmyra. Grandin was the local printer who contracted with Joseph a few months later to print and publish the Book of Mormon. The Prophet evidently used this copy as a handbook during the last stages of the writing of the Book of Mormon, for he made many glosses on the text, mainly in Isaiah. The Book of Mormon is full of borrowings from the King James Bible, but none are so extensive and so important as the long chapters taken with but slight modification from Isaiah. The jointly owned Bible also served as the basic text for his "correction" of the whole of the King James Bible itself, a task

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1 This was "Phinney's Stereotype edition," a large annotated quarto published in Cooperstown, New York, in 1826. The Prophet's copy is now in the library of the Reorganized Church in Independence, Missouri.

2 After 1827 the British and Foreign Bible Society omitted the Apocrypha from all English Bibles—with minor exceptions. The American Bible Society omitted the Apocrypha from all its Bibles. See Robert H. Pfeiffer's introduction to the Apocrypha According to the Authorized Version (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., nd.), p. xlii.

he had begun upon the completion of the Book of Mormon.

Like every prophet since the Reformation Joseph had a special love for the apocalyptic books of the Authorized Version—Isaiah, Daniel, and the Book of Revelation. But he also studied the Apocrypha. When, during the preparation of his corrected version of the King James Bible, he came to these extra-canonical books, he received a revelation from God stating that though the Apocrypha contained many true things, they need not be "translated" (corrected). Moreover, warned the Lord, they must be used by the Saints with caution; for the truth in them could be "discerned" only through the special enlightenment of the Holy Spirit.

Unlike his attitude toward the apocalyptic books Joseph's approach to the Apocrypha is perhaps too conditional to be called love. But one must bear in mind that, as the Prophet, he claimed to possess the Apostolic gift of "discernment" in all its fulness; and in writing the Book of Mormon he did not hesitate to discern the true things of the Apocrypha and to use them. He took the name of Nephi, his hero in the Book of Mormon, from the Apocrypha, and he found in 2 Esdras—the last of the Jewish apocalypses and the only one in the Apocrypha—an important source of inspiration. Moreover, he went to

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1The corrected Authorized Version of the Bible is known among the Mormons as the Inspired Version. The Prophet never completed this Inspired Version. His few notes for it came into the hands of the Reorganized Church which now prints the work.

2D & C, 91.

32 Mac. 1: 36. This passage is immediately followed by an account (2: 1-8) of a secret cave, the hiding place for the ark, a place to remain unknown till "God gather his people again together." Joseph could have applied these eight verses to the "coming forth of the Book of Mormon." Curiously, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the caves of Qumrân in 1947 suggests a more accurate application.

4For example, close parallels with the Book of Mormon may be seen in such elements of 2 Esdras as the 400-year reign of Christ (7: 27-29), the hidden book (12: 37), the gathering of the lost tribes into Jerusalem (13: 40), God's promise to restore lost scriptures (14: 19-26), and Ezra's inspired
the Apocrypha at a time when orthodox Protestantism was trying to suppress them. In the 1820's all extra-canonical books, that is, both the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and the pseudepigrapha of the "intertestamentary" and Christian eras, were the subject of much religious controversy. The Prophet stood firmly against the strong current of official disapprobation, and as his career unfolded he maintained his stand to the point of exaggeration.

* * *

And thus it was that in one superb stroke of religious synthesis Joseph Smith tied the whole universe to his own imminent removal to Ohio. The Bible, the Book of Mormon, and the "lost books" all predicted and insured God's love for the new Mormon City of Zion—with "no poor among them."

Joseph's desire to incorporate the Rigdonites and his retreat before the social pressures of western New York were both simultaneously clothed with divine necessity. He had never seen the Ohio converts who had more than doubled the size of his church; but the Enochian framework with its communitarian foundation was big enough to enfold them, no matter how literal-minded were the beliefs of the Rigdonites. In short, he provided the theological framework for the millennial community that was soon to replace Rigdon's.

dictation of the 20th restored books of scripture (11: 27-48). The "Old Testament" part of the Book of Mormon—up to Fourth Nephi—contains 20th chapters. Another incident possibly taken from the Apocrypha is the murder of an enemy king in his own tent. Compare Judith 12 with the Book of Mormon, p. 370 (Alma 51: 33-35). But this is not nearly so clear a case of borrowing.

It seems astonishing that G. B. Arbaugh overlooked the close parallels to the Book of Mormon in 2 Mac. and 2 Esdras in his Revelation in Mormonism (Chicago, 1931). In a master's thesis completed the same year as Arbaugh's book Russel E. Swenson noted that "among some brethren the apocryphal books of the Ethiopian Enoch and 4 Ezra/2 Esdras/ were given an equal position of authority" with the Bible and with Mormon scriptures for millennial doctrine. See R. B. Swenson, "The Influence of the New Testament upon Latter-day Saint Eschatology" (Univ. of Chicago, 1931), p. 115 and pp. 117, 12. Among these brethren were Parley P. Pratt in the Millennial Star, 1, 61, and Orson Pratt in his Series of Pamphlets by Orson Pratt (Liverpool, 1851), No. 1 ("Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon"), p. 1, and No. 3 ("The Kingdom of God"), p. 47.
Rigdon himself was more than impressed. The perceptive biographer of
the Prophet thought that when Rigdon read the "Prophecy of Enoch" the "scholar
in him had left and the evangelist stepped into the place of second in command
of the millennial church." Rigdon was indeed second in command, but he was
all evangelist and no scholar and he automatically devoured the millennial
news.

Joseph was perhaps more impressed than anyone else with his own aston-
ing feat, for he quickly put the "Prophecy of Enoch" to practical use. His
New England forefathers had compared Cotton Mather to Enoch, but now, a cen-
tury later, Joseph did more; for he was soon identifying himself with Enoch of
old, even to the extent of taking Enoch as a kind of scriptural nom de plume. 2
As his movement grew he made Enoch of old a link in the succession of the Mor-
mon "High Priesthood" from Moses and Abraham to Joseph and Sidney. 3 His own
City of Zion, now often called the "City of Enoch," was to be the New Jerusa-
lem which men had awaited for two thousand years. As we shall see, the Mormon
City of Enoch was to be less Mosaic than Jacksonian: an odd mixture of land
hunger and spiritual yearning, of economic equality and millennial expectation.
But the "Prophecy of Enoch" provided the United Order of the City of Enoch with
just the detailed theological rationale which the Rigdonites so sorely needed.

Until he had personally inspected the Rigdonite establishment in Men-
tor and Kirtland the Prophet had no clear notion of what God's new communi-
tarian law would entail. Joseph's personality was such that he could never
follow in the footsteps of another man, even if it were the renowned Rigdon.

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1F. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 96.

2D & C, 78, 82, 92, 104. Cotton Mather's death was memorialized in
Benjamin Colman, The Holy Walk and Glorious Translation of Blessed Enoch
(Boston, 1728). Cf. Perry Miller, The New England Mind; from Colony to
Province (Cambridge, 1953), 482.

3D & C, 76: 57.
The United Order of Enoch which he soon set up by the more perfect law necessarily had to differ from Rigdon's Family.

Before leaving Fayette the suspicious Rigdon delved into local court records to satisfy himself as to the innocence of the Prophet's youthful escapades. This completed, his only thought was to bring the Prophet back to Kirtland. Joseph was more than willing, for a move to Ohio seemed to assure the future of his church. And the increasing number of converts there would more than compensate for the loss of a few New York Saints too weak in the faith to make the westward move.

It was the middle of January, 1831 before the now famous Prophet could leave for Ohio. But mid-winter had its advantages for the kind of large-scale removal he had commanded. The wagons of the Saints would be heavy laden, and the frozen ground would be hard enough to bear such traffic. Luckier Saints could use sleighs, like the one Rigdon and Partridge rode on their return to the Western Reserve. Within a day or two of Rigdon's departure the Prophet's sleigh carrying him, his wife, and all their belongings could be seen gliding across the snow toward Ohio.

When his horses finally pulled into Kirtland on the second or third day of February, there took place one of the most often recounted incidents in Mormon folklore. Upon alighting, the young six-foot Prophet bounded up the steps of Whitney and Gilbert's general store and, extending his hand to one of the owners whom he had never met before, he exclaimed, "Newel K. Whitney! Thou art the man!"

"You have the advantage of me," replied the merchant coldly. "I could not call you by name as you have me."

"I am Joseph the Prophet," was the smiling rejoinder. "You've prayed me here, now what do you want of me?"

The Prophet's advantage was, as he soon explained, that he had seen
Whitney in a vision. The Whitneys themselves could corroborate this; for even before the arrival of the Prophet's four missionaries God had prepared the Whitneys for the event that now took place. While praying fervently one day for the gift of the Holy Spirit they saw a vision as of a cloud of glory descending upon their house and heard a voice saying: "Prepare to receive the word of the Lord, for it is coming." ¹

Newel K. Whitney, the man so honored by the Prophet's first awe-inspiring greeting in Kirtland, had had considerable experience in his own more mundane calling. After participating in the war of 1812 as a sutler he had gone to Green Bay, Wisconsin, to trade for Indian furs. Returning to the more settled country of northern Ohio about 1817 he soon met Algernon Sidney Gilbert, a merchant of Painesville. The two men formed a partnership to open up the first general store in Kirtland and were flourishing as backwoods businessmen by the time the four-man Mormon mission came through Kirtland. Although they were both followers of Sidney Rigdon, there is no evidence that either Whitney or Gilbert were members of the Family. ² But they may well have favored the Family in their business dealings. At any rate, they quickly followed the Family into Mormonism. And it was symbolic of what was to happen to Rigdonite communism that the first three Rigdonites with whom the Prophet dealt were not members of the Family and that all three were businessmen, namely, Edward Partridge, Newel K. Whitney, and A. S. Gilbert.

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Within hours of his dramatic arrival in Kirtland in February, 1831 the Prophet had judiciously analyzed the whole Rigdonite situation with all the shrewd clairvoyance he had displayed in employing his vision of Newel K.

¹*History of the Church, I, 115, note.

²Eva Pancost ("Mormons in Kirtland," 69) stated that Whitney had joined the Family. But she cited no evidence for this statement, assuming perhaps that he was a member because he was a Rigdonite.
Whitney. Seven years later he looked back on the action he had taken and found it good. Writing at a time when he was trying to remove every taint of communism from his church he described his action as follows:

The branch of the Church in this part of the Lord's vineyard, which had increased to nearly one hundred members, were striving to do the will of God, so far as they knew it, though some strange notions and false spirits had crept in among them. With a little caution and some wisdom, I soon assisted the brethren and sisters to overcome them. The plan of "common stock," which had existed in what was called "the family," whose members generally had embraced the everlasting Gospel, was readily abandoned for the more perfect law of the Lord; and the false spirits were easily discerned and rejected by the light of revelation.1

The "strange notions and false spirits" were those borrowed by the Rigdonites from the Shakers. During Rigdon's sojourn in Fayette, New York, the Family had not only indulged in notorious spiritualist orgy reminiscent of the Kentucky Revival, but had even become rather openly Shaker. For they had taken to wearing uniform Shaker hats "by which," said the local anti-Mormon editor, "they distinguish themselves, and exhibit their humility."2 John Whitmer, the first practicing Church Historian of Mormonism wrote that these disciples had all things in common and were going to destruction very fast as to temporal things for they considered from reading the scripture that what belonged to a brother, belonged to any of the brethren, therefore they would take each others clothes and other property and use it without leave: which brought on confusion and disappointments, for they did not understand the scripture.3

Some, said Whitmer, believed that those who obeyed the covenant in the last days would never die. "But," he remarked, "by experience they have learned to the contrary."4

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1History of the Church, I, 1h6-1h7. Italics mine.
2Painesville Telegraph, Feb. 15, 1831 (p. 1, col. 5).
3John Whitmer, "History of the Church" (ms.), chap. i, p. 10.
4Whitmer, "History," chap. iii, p. 22.
The Shakerism of the Family was a visible challenge to the Prophet's impressive ability to defend his own increasingly flamboyant ideas. He had to rework and embellish the Shaker concepts extensively enough to create something new. He had to undermine the Shaker ideal of equal poverty so antithetical to his own desire for equal riches. But he had to proceed, as he said, "with a little caution and some wisdom."

A little caution he showed by delaying the revelation of the "more perfect law" for about five days in order to prepare the minds of his converts for the change. The first step in the reorganization of the Family came on February 4, when he received a revelation promising the new law and making obedience to the new law a test of church membership. The new law, stated this revelation, was a pearl not to be cast among swine. Moreover, before the law could be revealed the Lord required the Kirtlanders to build the Prophet a house "in which to live and translate." As for Joseph's leading elder, Sidney Rigdon, the Lord said that he could, if he liked, live in Mentor or elsewhere.  

1 Finally, the Lord commanded that Edward Partridge be appointed by the voice of the church, and ordained a bishop unto the church, to leave his merchandise and to spend all his time in the labors of the church; to see to all things as it shall be appointed unto him, in my laws in the day that I shall give them. 

2 This cautious, preparatory revelation wisely said nothing of the Family's Shaker hats and its spiritualism. The hats would gradually disappear as the Family lost its identity within the larger Mormon whole. And the Shaker

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1 Book of Commandments, chap. xliii, verse 10. In 1835, by which time Joseph felt obliged to keep his thumb on the ambitious Rigdon, he changed the passage concerning Rigdon by adding the phrase: "inasmuch as he keepeth my commandments." See D & C, 41 (Feb. 4, 1831); History of the Church, I, 443; and above, p. 90, n. 1.

spiritualism could be dealt with later.

In naming Partridge bishop of the church the Prophet had appointed the first officer for the administration of the new and repeatedly promised law of the Lord. To insure the acceptance of the law by the Rigdonites the Prophet had taken elaborate pains to lay down an effective groundwork. But several days of anticipation had created an atmosphere of suspenseful uncertainty and within a week of the most recent promise he decided that the new law could no longer be delayed. Accordingly on February 9, 1831 he announced to a select inner group of Saints the revelation of the more perfect communitarian law: the law of consecration and stewardship which came to be known as the United Order of Enoch.

The United Order revelation was the longest and most imposing regular revelation of the Prophet's career up to this time and it was the only one he was ever forced to change in any substantial way. It paraphrased most of the ten commandments; it set up the well-known Mormon system of sending all able-bodied Saints on missions preaching "two by two"; it definitely promised that the New Jerusalem would be located farther west; it laid down rules for dealing with violations of the Mosaic law; it distinguished between offenses which were to be tried by the state and offenses to be tried by the church; and most important of all, it announced the semi-communist system of the United Order of Enoch—a more perfect law than that derived by the Family from the Shakers. 1

1 It is very likely that the Prophet delayed his attack on the Shaker spiritualism of the Family so as not to offend the Shakers of North Union—who seemed ripe for conversion. When in March, 1831 his attempt to convert the Shakers failed he felt free to come out openly against the spiritualism of the Family. See D & C, 49, and below, pp. 120-121, 137, 144-145.

2 Section 42 of the Doctrine and Covenants contains the fundamental law of the United Order. But this version, dating from 1835 and now accepted as official, is a drastic revision of the original law as printed in the extremely rare Book of Commandments (1833) as chapter 44. See Appendix I.
As a whole, the revelation constituted an outline of the Mormon plan for a perfect millennial society. The United Order which it instituted was essentially an economic program for establishing an ideal community, the City of Zion, the City of Enoch. Specifically the Order provided the community with four necessities: (1) a financial system (controlled by the church) for building the New Jerusalem and for creating a certain degree of economic equality among the Saints; (2) land, which was to be the chief source of subsistence in the community; (3) economic self-sufficiency (eventually by means of a quarry, a tannery, and a storehouse) to provide independence from the world; and (4) an American frontier version of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide: the "Literary Firm" and its twin, the "Printing Concern." The distinction between the Literary Firm and the Printing Concern was not sharp. The former seems to have referred to the persons who wrote for the official organs of the church and who sold the finished product; the latter usually meant the actual printing business.

In his last doctrinal revelation before leaving Fayette, New York, the Prophet had promised that by the new law to be given in the western land

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1 Descriptions of the United Order seem to run in fours. The four elements listed above are based on specific methods and goals. The mechanical approach of Joseph A. Oedde posits four institutions: the law of consecration and stewardship; the storehouse, the Literary Firm, and the Printing Concern. See his United Order Among the Mormons (New York, 1922), a superficial and inaccurate study in what used to be called "political economy." The more useful economic analysis of Leonard J. Arrington presents as the goals of the Order "economic equality, socialization of surplus incomes, freedom of enterprise, and group economic self-sufficiency." Arrington, "Early Mormon Communitarianism: the Law of Consecration and Stewardship," Western Humanities Review, VII (Aut., 1953), 342.

note. For convenience the Doctrine and Covenants will be cited whenever possible.

To say that it was the longest revelation in the Prophet's career up to this point is to give subsequent church editors the benefit of doubt; for the last twenty verses, which concern certain violations of the Mosaic law, seem to have been separately revealed and then subsequently tucked on the end of the United Order revelation by church editors. Compare the Book of Commandments, chap. xl vii with the Doctrine and Covenants, section 42, verses 74-93.
of milk and honey (Ohio) his poverty-stricken following of some three score agrarians would receive millennial "inheritances"—farms. He had also promised them that they and their children would possess these inheritances for all eternity, both in this world and the next.  

Now, in Kirtland, Ohio, the new Law of the Promised Land introduced the two basic rules that formed the core of the United Order of Enoch: the laws of consecration and stewardship. The Lord spoke as follows:

26 If thou lovest me, thou shalt serve me and keep all my commandments; and behold, thou shalt consecrate all thy properties, that which thou hast unto me, with a covenant and a deed which can not be broken; and they shall be laid before the bishop of my church, and two of the elders, such as he shall appoint and set apart for that purpose.

27 And it shall come to pass, that the bishop of my church, after that he has received the properties of my church, that it can not be taken from the church, he shall appoint every man a steward over, his own property, or that which he has received, inasmuch as is sufficient for himself and family:

28 And the residue shall be kept to administer to him who has not, that every man may receive according as he stands in need:

29 And the residue shall be kept in my storehouse, to administer to the poor and needy, as shall be appointed by the elders of the church and the bishop; and for the purpose of purchasing lands, and the building up of the New Jerusalem, which is hereafter to be revealed; that my covenant people may be gathered in one, in the day that I shall come to my temple:

30 And this I do for the salvation of my people.

31 And it shall come to pass, that he that sinneth and repenteth not shall be cast out, and shall not receive again that which he has consecrated unto me:

32 For it shall come to pass, that which I spake by the mouths of my prophets shall be fulfilled; for I will consecrate the riches of the Gentiles, unto my people which are of the house of Israel.  

And henceforth, too, each man owned the shirt on his back, for the revelation specifically commands that

51 Thou shalt not take thy brother's garment; thou shalt pay for that which thou shalt receive of thy brethren.

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1D & C, 38.  
2Book of Commandments, chap. xlv.
The equality or "communism" of the United Order consisted in the duty of the steward to return to the bishop all the annual surplus ("residue") which he subsequently produced, either in cash or in kind. These annual consecrations that followed the first one guaranteed that the general manner of life would remain the same—the first principle of any communitarian society. They would also provide a fairly fluid capital to be used, as indicated in verse 29, for the support of propertyless Saints, for the construction of Zion, for the purchase of more land, and later, for the general administration of the church.

Since most fluid capital in the community went to the church, a problem later arose: how were the large producers, especially those who manufactured, to obtain enough capital for expansion? Since the Prophet was extremely reluctant to release any capital except for his own projects, the Saints later turned to cooperatives and even to the sale of stock. But for the time being the basic Mormon principle of economic equality, enunciated long before Marx (but after Saint-Simon), remained the same: from each according to his ability, to each according to his need. Marx hoped for the destruction of classes; Joseph Smith looked upward toward the three levels of Mormon heaven, saying, "for if ye are not equal in earthly things ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things."  

The United Order had no important antecedents in the Book of Mormon. It was not until he met Sidney Rigdon and won over the Rigdonite community in Ohio that the Prophet gave any indication that he intended to establish a

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4See Appendix V, "The Book of Mormon and the Revelation of the United Order of Enoch."
communitarian society. The Prophet's execution of the Lord's new law showed that he drew it up to suit the conditions he met in Ohio.

Unlike Sidney Rigdon, who had begotten a Family and had then ignored it, the Prophet directed every important step in the organization of the United Order, not only by subsequent revelations but also by using his own great personal influence as head of the church. Even before issuing the United Order revelation the Prophet had begun to organize the Order by creating a new and important church office, the bishopric, appointing the docile Edward Partridge, "in whom there is no guile," the first bishop of the church. This does not mean that there existed in the mind of the Prophet a detailed, completely articulated scheme for the organization of the Order. In fact, the first bishopric was so much an ad hoc invention—influenced by Shakerism—that the Prophet secretly had to insert the office of bishop into an older revelation dealing with church government.

The Mormon bishop, or "presiding bishop," was a general officer of the church in charge of all temporal—or more accurately—millennial affairs. The office was in no way related to the episcopate of the Protestant and Catholic traditions. The Mormon bishop was not (at first) tied to a strictly defined territorial unit; and his work was essentially communitarian—not concerned with missions, doctrines, conferences, appointments, and the like.

The most interesting fact about the Mormon concepts of bishop and bishopric is that they shared them only with the Shakers. (The Shakers seem to have used only one of these two terms: the bishopric.)

1D & C, 111: 9.

2See D & C, 20 (Apr. 6, 1830). Three verses (65–67) of this section were added later—probably in 1834. I am not inclined to press too strongly the matter of Shaker influence in this instance, but the similarities between the Mormon and Shaker bishoprics are too remarkable to be ignored. For further similarities see below, pp. 116, 120–121, 127, 176–177.

3For at least one person, Bishop Hervey Eades of the South Union
Mormons, the Shakers never really developed their bishopric as an important part of Shaker polity. For the Shakers the term bishopric remained a loose term for nearly but separated communities headed by one presiding ministry. Among the Mormons, however, the bishop had the specific duty of directing the economic activities of the church. With the decline of the United Order between 1838 and 1841 the Mormon bishop became the rough equivalent of a minister on the parish level. In this capacity he faced the everyday problems of ministering to the basic Mormon territorial unit, the "ward," or congregation. The office of presiding bishop survived the decline of the Order in a form that closely resembled that of 1831, for the presiding bishop was after 1838, and still is, entrusted with all the vast commercial and agricultural interests of the modern Mormon church—interests which the church first took upon itself under the United Order of Enoch.

As the first presiding bishop of the United Order, Edward Partridge was charged with collecting consecrated properties in the "storehouse" and with using this surplus for the "building up of the New Jerusalem." ¹ According to the law of consecration and stewardship each Saint consecrated "all" his property to the bishop, receiving back only what he needed for himself and his family. This property needed and retained by the steward was called his inheritance, and in almost all instances consisted of land. Such land should be, according to the United Order revelation, "inasmuch as is sufficient for himself and family." The bishop very soon had the inhumanly ticklish task of "dividing the inheritances" (purchased with consecrated funds) and assigning them to individual stewards. ²

The contradictory elements in the United Order of capitalism and

communism, or of free enterprise and equality, made the mechanics of consecration and stewardship complicated and, eventually, unworkable. As worked out over the next three years the system required first that the steward consecrate all his property by a "deed." He then received back whatever he needed by a second deed: "a writing that shall secure unto him his portion ... according to the laws of the land." Should he apostatize he could claim only "that portion that is deeded unto him." 1

Unlike the Shakers, who left only clothes and a few other personal possessions to their new members, the Mormons needed a second deed to cover the second transaction, that is, the assigning of portions of land. Since both transactions, the consecration and the receiving of a stewardship, usually took place simultaneously, the two necessary legal forms were printed on one sheet. 2

It is clear that as an economic system the United Order left enough freedom for capitalistic enterprise to distinguish it from both communism and cooperation. Stewards could own very unequal amounts of land, because their family needs were unequal. The small percentage of Saints with non-agricultural sources of income—teachers, preachers, artisans, and other specialists—had as their inheritances only their licenses, salaries, and homesites. Considering the Order from a purely economic point of view, one may say that its greatest weakness was its failure to provide for the greater ambition, talent, and energy of some stewards. More than in any other American utopian scheme there was a constant temptation for some to be, as the phrase goes, more equal than others.

1D & C, 51: 4-6 (May, 1831; first published in 1835).

2See below, chap. V, 187ff. and Appendix II. The Shakers, of course, had no concept of individual "stewardship" over an individually operated farm. Thus their first transaction, that of consecration (including land), was their last one.
This inner tension between egalitarianism and capitalism in the United Order reflected the contradictions within the Jacksonian ethos with remarkable accuracy. It is commonplace to speak of Jacksonian egalitarianism and to cite Tocqueville's classic analysis. But Tocqueville also understood that the typical Jacksonian was also what Professor Hofstadter has called an "expectant capitalist." Although the Prophet made equality the dominant social and economic value of his church, he showed, at the same time, a nice understanding for the acquisitive instincts of his era.

* * *

By February, 1831 the Prophet had combined the theological framework of the "Prophecy of Enoch" with the economic system of consecrations and stewardships—that is, with "the laws of the Kingdom." By so doing he had transformed Rigdonite communitarianism into the more perfect law of the Lord: the United Order of Enoch. With his profoundly practical insight into the mentality of the backwoods Americans who were his first followers he had found a way to bring into Mormonism a predominantly communitarian group larger than the whole of his church in New York State. He had found a compromise, however temporary and unsatisfactory, between communism and capitalism.

The United Order was loose enough in structure to enable him to lead his church either toward communism or capitalism, as the situation dictated. For the rest of his life, however, the Prophet persistently tried to suppress the communist element of the Order—the element that had seemed so indispensable for winning over the Family. Perhaps he regretted sharing the prestige for founding the Order with the man who had indirectly fathered it: Sidney Rigdon. But a more likely reason is that he had himself the heart of an expectant capitalist. As Mrs. Brodie has pointed out, "Joseph's kingdom,

1See the letter from Joseph Smith to Martin Harris (then in Palmyra), Kirtland, Feb. 22, 1831 in the Journal History, Feb. 22, 1831.
unlike that of Jesus, was unmistakably of this world.\footnote{P. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 108, 142. I do not, however, agree with Mrs. Brodie (c. 141) that the Prophet began to efface the "common stock" part of the United Order in 1831. The notion that he "dissolved" it in 1831 is based in part on certain measures he took in 1831 and on his frequent denials, repeated by Bishop Edward Partridge, that the church never was a common stock concern. He had to do this because in the eyes of the gentiles the United Order became, not the way to salvation, but just another "common stock" scheme.}

The Prophet began trying to strangle his brainchild in 1831 almost as soon as he had fathered it. He did this by implementing it, as he later boasted, "with a little caution and some wisdom." After having studied the Family for about a week he wrote the United Order revelation, and on February 9, 1831 permitted twelve trusted elders to hear it read. He did not announce it to the Saints at large until February 23. Still less did he trumpet the new law to the world, for he well knew the hatred of most gentiles for all communitarian societies; and he sensed that many Saints would not be equal to the heroic duty of giving up "all" their property. In announcing the revelation he commanded his preachers not to communicate it to the world; and until they became strong in the faith not even their converts should hear of it. As an added precaution he studded the revelation itself with exhortations to the Saints to be closemouthed about the Order. Finally, he delayed printing the revelation in his newspaper or anywhere else so that, if necessary, he could modify the text. Thus, in every way the Prophet's prudence reinforced his love of secrecy and mystery. Only in promulgating the equally dangerous doctrine of polygamy did he proceed with such caution.

In this instance, as with polygamy, his prudence went unrewarded. The intense theological build-up that had begun back in New York made it hard for the Saints to keep their secret. On February 10, the very next day following the first (secret) announcement, an anonymous letter in the Observer and

\footnote{Western Reserve Chronicle, Sept. 22, 1831.}
Telegraph leaked out word of the Prophet's intentions. "Who," demanded the anti-Mormon author, "can be so deluded as to sell their farms, and contribute the avail of it to the support of the common family?" ¹

The attempt at secrecy intrigued the gentiles and fed their wildest suspicions. Even before the Prophet could put the United Order into practice an anti-Mormon editor managed to get a copy of the original manuscript of the United Order revelation and this copy was published in at least two newspapers between the spring and fall of 1831 as the "Secret Bye Laws of the Mormonites." A close analysis of the newspaper text shows it to have been more accurate than the version subsequently accepted by the Mormons as standard. ²

The Prophet could defer the announcement of the United Order revelation but not the United Order itself. His adopted Family was very eager to live according to the more perfect law; and the spiritualist ferment they had started during Rigdon's visit to the Prophet had not yet subsided. The Family had merely translated the spiritualist phenomena into the Book of Mormon terms. John Whitmer's description of their "exercises" at this point clearly illustrates the transition:

Some had visions and could not tell what they saw; some would fancy to themselves that they had the sword of Laban /a prophet in the Book of Mormon/, and wield it as expert as a light dragoon, some would act like an Indian in the act of scalping, some would slide or /s/coot /on/ the floor, with the rapidity of a servant /serpent/, which the /y/ termed sailing in the boat to the Lamanites /Book of Mormon allusion/, preaching the gospel. And many other vain and foolish manoeuvres that are unseemly, and unprofitable to mention. Thus the devil blinded the eyes of some good and honest disciples. ³

¹Italics in the original.

²Western Reserve Chronicle, Sept. 22, 1831, reprinted from the Western Courier. The first printed version of this revelation in the Book of Commandments (1833) contained three extra verses. In turn, the 1833 version was itself further modified. See Appendix I.

³John Whitmer, "History of the Church," chap. vii, p. 26. See also John Corrill, A Brief History of the Church of the Latter Day Saints (commonly called Mormons); including an Account of Their Doctrine and Discipline; with the Reasons of the Author for Leaving the Church (St. Louis, 1839), 16-17.
It was a woman named Hubble who brought home to the Prophet the seriousness of this situation. She "blinded the eyes" of still other disciples, outside the Family, by attempting, with remarkable success, to issue revelations of her own. She came, said the Prophet, making great pretensions of revealing commandments, laws and other curious matters; and as almost every person has advocates for both theory and practice, in the various notions and projects of the age, it became necessary to inquire of the Lord.

The Lord repeated to Joseph what He had said of previous rival prophets: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that none else shall be appointed unto this gift" and that no Saint should receive her revelations. A few days later another revelation declared untrue the doctrine, strongly held by the Shakers, that every Saint could receive the spiritual gifts of the Holy Ghost; rather, said the Lord, only certain Saints could enjoy certain gifts. It would be the duty of Bishop Partridge and such others "as God shall appoint" to discern genuine gifts. A few years later, during their "Era of Manifestations" (1837-1848), the Shakers, too, were forced to curb and censor revelations, messages, or gifts that were too extravagant to be accepted as true.

Of more interest perhaps than the Prophet's rejection of the woman's spiritual credentials was his interpretation of her motives. His comment on the "various notions and projects" of the time closely echoes Emerson's oft-quoted complaint that it was hard to meet anyone in those days without being approached by some utopian schemer with a spiritual project in his vest pocket. The Prophet was uncomfortably aware of the Shaker streak in his many new converts. And he was quite sensitive to the frequent comparison of his United Order with the "common stock" system of the Shakers. Mr. Eber D. Howe, editor

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2D & C, 43: 11-27.
of the Painesville Telegraph and one of the most persistent critics of the Prophet, was one of many who made the comparison. Indeed, about two weeks after the revelation of the United Order Howe slyly insinuated that one of Joseph's friends in his early money-digging days was a vagabond fortune-teller and juggler named Walters, who lived back in Sodus, New York. To most readers of the Telegraph Sodus was notable chiefly as the seat of a new Shaker community which was in the news about this time because of the imminent sale of its land to the Sodus Canal Company.

In revelations that followed, the Prophet tried to check the persistent influence of Shakerism first by drowning it in a mass of non-Shaker converts and secondly by converting the Shakers themselves. To initiate the first plan he called a conference of all the elders of the church in every part of the United States to be held on June 3, 1831 at Kirtland. The elders would go forth from the conference as an army of missionaries conquering the area round about Ohio, but concentrating on the far west. 1 A related revelation forbade the practice of excluding non-Mormons of good will from the public services of the church. 2 To whip up missionary zeal and flagging faith he thundered forth in his most powerful and clear exposition to date of Mormon chiliasm. Soon, "the sun shall be darkened, and the moon turned into blood, and stars fall from heaven." Satan would be bound, the wicked destroyed, and the Saints given an inheritance on earth forever. 3

But where, the Saints asked for the hundredth time, was this New Jerusalem to be? Whither should they gather? The Prophet had by now decided that his future seemed brighter farther west. But land for the City of Zion would require money. Accordingly, toward the end of this millennial revelation, after setting forth the terrors and joys of the Great Day of the Lord, he gave

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1History of the Church, I, 157; D & C, Wh: 1-3; H5: 68-67.
3D & C, H5.
this command:

Wherefore ... gather ye out from the eastern lands ... go ye forth into the western countries [and] build up churches unto me; and with one heart and one mind, gather up your riches that ye may purchase an inheritance which shall hereafter be appointed unto you, and it shall be called the New Jerusalem, a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety for the Saints of the Most High God.\(^1\)

This exposition of latter-day doctrine and its promise of millennial joy in the West came in early March, 1831, only a few days after the general publication of the new law of the United Order. The time had now come to wrestle with the souls of the Shakers of North Union, that pernicious hotbed of communism and unbridled spiritualism. The precarious situation in which the church found itself in the early spring of 1831 called for something more than either the more perfect law or a purge of old Family leaders; it required a counter-offensive. And for this crucial step Providence, it seemed, had sent the Prophet Leman Copley.

\(^{1}\)D & C, 45: 61-66.
CHAPTER IV

FROM FAMILY TO EMPIRE

They "the Mormons" have all things common, and their destination is some glorious country far in the Utopian West.

—Vermont Chronicle, June 24, 1831

I do not care who leads this church, even though it were Ann Lee (The Foundress of Shakerism).

—Brigham Young, 1844

The famous Mrs. Trollope once remarked that all the bigotry in America was concentrated upon the Berkshire hills of western Massachusetts, and about a hundred years after her visit Bernard De Voto termed Pittsfield, the seat of Berkshire county, the center of a hundred-mile circle encompassing the birthplace of nearly every crackpot and reformer born in the United States.

However wild such assertions may seem, they are symbolically true. In this fringe area of an expanding New England were born many leaders of what has been called the lunatic fringe of American social history, including among others William Miller the adventist, John Humphrey Noyes the Oneida Perfectionist, various Shaker leaders, and such leading Mormons as Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Frederick G. Williams, and Willard Richards, Oliver Cowdery, Edward Partridge, and Joseph Smith himself. Indeed the birthplace of almost every early Mormon leader can be located in the region centering on Berkshire county. It was in this area, too, that Leman Copley was born.

1See Richard D. Birdsell, Berkshire County; a Cultural History (New Haven, 1959), 33.

Leman Copley's misfortune was a common one among religious seekers: striving for perfection, he left a good thing for what he thought was better—and lost both.

For several years before 1830 Copley had been a good Shaker. He was well known among his brethren, too, for he was a lively, emotional man who much preferred dancing out his love of Shakerism to hearing sermons about it. To Copley the practice, not the theory of communitarian life, was important. In a society that practiced humble anonymity his small notoriety may be traced perhaps less to his enthusiastic ways than to his frequent trips from one Shaker community to another. His visits, very likely made on a Shaker seed-meddling route, always seem to have strengthened the faith of his fellow Believers.

The Copley name had a prominent place in the Millennial Society of True Believers. As early as 1803 members of the numerous Copley clan had been trooping out of western Massachusetts into Shaker headquarters at New Lebanon, New York, to consecrate their property, to share all things in common, and to leave behind all thoughts of "lust" and marriage. Sinless perfection, the Shakers believed, would surely be theirs. And when the Bridegroom came, as He promised, the Copleys, prudent virgins all, would meet Him on that day with lamps lit in readiness.

Leman Copley was one of the first Copleys to move to the new community of North Union, arriving there about 1827. His great capacity for the

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2"A record of the commencement and progress . . . at Bodus and Port Bay . . . .", Dec. 14, Dec. 19, 1827, ms. WRHS; / Root Glasgow / to Stephen Munson and the Ministry of New Lebanon, Port Bay, Wayne county, N.Y., Mar. 23, 1828, WRHS; Matthew Houston to Seth Y. Wells, North Union, Aug. 10, 1832, WRHS.
expression of religious joy by dancing, shaking, and singing impressed even
the Shakers. On a trip back to North Union from New Lebanon in 1828 he stayed
several days with the Shaker brethren of Sodus Bay, in Wayne county, New York.

The presiding elders wrote to Shaker headquarters at New Lebanon that

he was quite zealous in our meetings & found quite a number to shake with
him & repent with him & rejoice about & praise God with him & . . . said
he felt thankful that his les were opened but said preaching never would
have done it but it was the Godly example that was before him when at
Lebanon, we have not heard from him since he left here.1

Leman Copley's commitment to Shakerism was strong but too much a matter
of feeling. Eventually his easily swayed emotions and dancing feet would lead
him out of North Union into Mormonism and then from the interminable preaching
of the Mormons into the sectarian unknown. He took the first step away from
Shakerism by the summer of 1830, when something at North Union—doubtless
Ashbel Kitchell— took away his joy in that religion.

Taking up the life of a private person in Thompson, Ohio, about twenty-
five miles to the east, Copley had no apparent religious affiliation. He had
purchased at least two parcels of land of about seven hundred acres in all—
a huge amount of land for the time. Just where he found enough money for a
down payment on so much land after having lived a life of Shaker poverty is
an interesting mystery of his career. But it is doubtful that he ever com-
pleted his payments on these holdings.

As an energetic citizen of "the world"—which, to the Shakers, included
everything outside their fences—Copley had the pleasure of representing the
village of Thompson at the Geauga county Anti-Masonic convention. It was
possibly on this occasion that he first heard of the Book of Mormon, which,

1/Roots Glasgow?7 to Stephen Munson and the Ministry of New Lebanon,
Port Bay, Wayne county, N.Y., Mar. 23, 1828, WHHS.

2/Painesville Telegraph, Nov. 29, 1838; Geauga county records, Chardon,
Ohio, tax schedules, 1831.

3/Painesville Telegraph, Sept. 7, 1830.
like the convention he attended, was opposed to secret societies and which, also like the convention, was a product of the Puritan mentality of western New York. The contents of the Book of Mormon and the story of its coming forth would appeal to a former Shaker like Copley. And even before Joseph Smith arrived in Geauga county to promulgate the "more perfect" communitarian law, the Mormons and Shakers seemed similar enough to present at least one earnest seeker with the most agonizing of choices.

Certain it is that Copley did not have long to wait for first-hand knowledge of the new Bible. For within six weeks the "four heralds" arrived in Geauga county and stirred up the whole countryside round about with their strange story. They soon converted Copley's Rigdonite neighbors and about three months later the great Prophet himself arrived eager to reveal the more perfect law of the Lord. When once that new law had become known to mankind, Leman Copley, having the ears to hear, accepted Mormon baptism, and soon after helped alter the course of early Mormon communitarianism.

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Writing a few years after Copley's excommunication from the Mormon church the Prophet could describe the conversion of this former Shaker with the benefit of hindsight. He recorded that early in March, 1831

Leman Copley, one of the sect called Shaking Quakers ... embraced the fulness of the everlasting Gospel, apparently honest hearted, but still retaining the idea that the Shakers were right in some particulars of their faith. In order to have more perfect understanding on the subject, I inquired of the Lord.²

The Lord answered:

1 Peace be it known, for behold, verily I say unto you, that I give unto you a commandment, that ye shall go and preach my gospel, which ye have received, even as ye have received it, unto the Shakers.

²Ministry of Harvard to the Ministry of New Lebanon, Harvard, Mass., Nov. 9, 1831, WHS.

²History of the Church, I, 167.
Behold I say unto you, that they desire to know the truth in part, but not all, for they are not right before me, and must needs repent.

Therefore I send you, my servants Sidney and Parley, to preach the Gospel unto them; and my servant Lemon shall be ordained unto this work, that he may reason with them, not according to that which he has received of them, but according to that which shall be taught him by you, my servants, and by so doing I will bless him, otherwise he shall not prosper.¹

Joseph picked Parley P. Pratt and Sidney Rigdon to accompany Copley not merely because they were his most talented and trustworthy elders, but because they were most familiar with Shakerism. In his harshly worded revelation he went on to list the doctrinal points which should be made to the Shakers. Most of these—equal sharing of worldly goods, the imminence of the Last Days, belief in Christ, and the like—were acceptable to any Shaker. But then the Lord chose to pronounce three Shaker doctrines ungodly.

The first, abstention from meat, did not become a Shaker doctrine until 1840 and was never a general one. Indeed, within two years the Lord would command the Mormons themselves to avoid meat—and tea, coffee, and tobacco besides.

The second doctrine was the best known of all Shaker doctrines: opposition to marriage. Marriage, said the Lord, was ordained of God. In fact, a later revelation would make marriage "plural."

The third Shaker doctrine was the most important of all: the female manifestation of the Messiah in Ann Lee, the foundress of Shakerism. "The Son of Man cometh not in the form of a woman," declared the Lord. Later, however, Joseph taught the doctrine that the male and female principles were part of the Deity, which consists of many "flash and bone" gods capable of human reproduction. Except for the corporeality of the Godhead, this was vaguely similar to the duality of the Shaker God.

Leman Copley knew that Joseph's insistence on the maleness of the

¹Book of Commandments, chap. lili.
Messiah and on the beauty of marriage, not to speak of his arrogant demand that the Shakers "repent," would not sit well with his former brethren. But perhaps more unwise than the wording of this revelation concerning the Shakers was the Prophet's inclusion of the aggressive Parley P. Pratt in the three-man delegation to North Union. It should be remembered that the Shakers had maintained their friendly business and religious relations with the Family even after the latter had embraced Mormonism: it was probably from North Union that the Family, now Mormon, had purchased their uniform hats. Pratt, who was never particularly noteworthy for his tact, had preached to the North Union Shakers on his way to the Lamanites a few months before; but he had done nothing to arouse their sympathy for Mormonism. To prevent him from irritating the Shakers at the very start of this important mission Rigdon and Copley preceded him. As the Prophet's leading elder Rigdon had sufficient rank to conduct any serious negotiations, and as the founder of the Family he was well known and highly respected by the Shakers. Copley, as a former member of the community and a leading convert from Shakerism, would advise Rigdon and help effect a friendly reception.

Rigdon and Copley arrived one Saturday evening and began a long explanation of the Mormon faith. When this preliminary discussion came to an end, Kitchell needlessly asked Rigdon whether he "bore the cross" (celibacy). When Rigdon admitted that he was married, Kitchell asked him to stay outside the "paling of the church" for the night. Copley he permitted to sleep overnight.

On the next morning, just before the regular Sabbath meeting, Pratt arrived. Rigdon stood up before the assembled Shakers and read the Prophet's unhappy worded revelation on Shakerism. This was just the opportunity.

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1Except where otherwise noted the following account of the mission to the Shakers is mainly based on "A Mormon Interview. Copied from Brother Ashbel Kitchell's Pocket Journal. By E. D. B. (Elisha Blakeman). Aug., 1856," ms. formerly in the WRHS but now lost.
Kitchell was seeking. When Rigdon had finished, Kitchell told the three missionaries that he would have nothing whatsoever to do with "the Christ that dictated that" little piece of nonsense. "The piece," he sneered, "bears on its face the image of its author." When the rest of the Shakers agreed, the ill-tempered Pratt rose and began shaking his coattail and flapping, noted Kitchell, "the dust from his garments as a testimony against us." Pratt's apostolic gestures (see Luke 10: 11, Acts 13: 51) brought forth all the churlishness of Kitchell's testy heart: "You filthy Beast, dare you presume to come in here, and try to imitate a man of God by shaking your filthy tail; confess your sins and purge your soul from your lusts . . . ."

On this scene the tale of Mormon-Shaker relations closed. John Whitmer, whom Joseph had appointed as the second Church Historian a few days before the Shaker mission, wrote that the Shakers "hearkened not unto their words, and received not the gospel at that time." 1 How many Shakers besides Leman Copley left the community of North Union for Mormonism is not certain; but it is very likely that there were several others—especially in late 1830, when the community was plagued by apostasy. Sporadic contacts continued over the next few years and Mormonism never escaped what might be called its Shaker period.

Elder Kitchell now decided, possibly on his way back to the Shaker mother community at New Lebanon, to return the Mormon fire by stopping by at Kirtland and trying his own heavy hand at mass conversion. He had doubtless made many such visits to the Family over what he described as two years of "friendly terms in trade etc." But now, not Brother Isaac Morley, but Elder Newel Knight, a stalwart Mormon from New York, was in charge.

Kitchell recorded this proselytizing attempt in his little pocket

journal but gave no details. Since the Shakers had abandoned the policy of active proselytizing by 1830, his act was an unusual one—and apparently a useless one. He "labored" with Elder Knight in several conversations, but there is no evidence that he made any converts.

The iron-handed Kitchell would never have another opportunity to make amends for the damage he had wrought in North Union, for he knew by now that he had been removed from office. The Ministry of New Lebanon had already sent their decision to his immediate superiors at the bishopric of Union Village, and some time early in 1831 Union Village sent a new presiding elder to North Union: the gentle, sixty-seven-year-old Matthew Houston.

This loveable Virginian (he was a cousin of Sam Houston) restored the morale of North Union. Good-humored, courteous, well-educated (for the Presbyterian ministry), and gay, Houston brought to a halt the stream of apostasies that had been threatening to destroy the community since 1829.

Houston was not all sweetness and light when it came to the defense of his faith. "My business," he once asserted, "is to catch, scale, and gut men, not fish." 1 In 1838 a Mormon missionary found Houston himself a hard fish to catch. When in that year the Mormons abandoned Kirtland forever, their caravan to Missouri passed near Houston's community of Watervliet, in southern Ohio. A leading Mormon stopped to proselytize among the Shakers. Elder Houston had just finished "laboring"—successfully—with a representative of the German community of Zoar in eastern Ohio and was feeling quite confident. He tried his luck with the Mormon visitor but made little headway and finally told him that the Shakers needed no Mormon baptism, for they had already been regenerated. "I find," he reported to New Lebanon, "nothing can be done with the Mormons yet—there must be a falling away." 2

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1 "Unpublished Testimonies," ms. WRHS, II, 205.

2 "Copy of a Letter from Elder Matthew Houston Addressed to Elder Free-gift Wells, of the Union Village, then at Lebanon," Watervliet, Ohio, June 1,
Houston became ill at North Union and held office less than a year. A man of equal talents, and one of the finest minds in Shakerism, David Spinning, replaced him. Elder Spinning preserved the community from any immediate mass apostasy to Mormonism, and despite a large exodus in 1834 or 1835, the religious affiliation of which cannot be traced, he was able to guide the growth of North Union wisely and fruitfully until 1840.

Individual Mormon missionaries would continue to visit Shaker communities for years after, but the mission by Rigdon, Pratt, and Copley was the Prophet's first and last official attempt to bring them over as a group.

It was rapidly becoming apparent that the Family should be regularized under the United Order—preferably at some distance from both North Union and Kirtland. Further delay was impossible, for at this moment the zealous Colesville Saints, who had just completed the sale of their property for the benefit of the Mormon church, were preparing to come to Ohio to seek their inheritances and to gather into Enoch's City. For the relocation of the Family and for the accommodation of the Colesville Branch he must find land.

To help solve this problem of finding land in Ohio two men were ready to hand: Leman Copley, who preferred the practice of the ordered life to the preaching of it; and the pious Bishop Edward Partridge, who, as administrator of the consecrations and stewardships, was the chief executive, after Joseph Smith, of the more perfect law.

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It was in Pittsfield in 1793 that Bishop Edward Partridge, beloved of Joseph the Prophet, was born. This town, still a tiny village when Partridge spent his boyhood there, was just over the New York border from Canaan, New

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1836, in A. G. Hollister, comp., "Pioneer Correspondence from the West," (Mt. Lebanon, N. Y., 1871-72), pp. 15-18, ms. WRHS.

2"Freestott Ms.," 36.
York, the birthplace of Parley P. Pratt. Like Pratt, Partridge had lived out his youth in the midst of the eastern Shaker country between Albany and Pittsfield. Two Shaker communities, Hancock and Tyringham, stood within convenient walking distance of the Partridge home, and it seems certain that many close relatives of Edward Partridge were members of the Shaker communities of Hancock and Tyringham. There is no evidence that Partridge himself ever joined a Shaker community.

The Shaker communities of western Massachusetts and eastern New York often profited from the "falling out" that accompanied the rise and fall of several tiny sects in that area and the Hancock Shakers in particular boasted with considerable truth that their community was the haven for "all troubled spirits" in the environs of Pittsfield. Several such spirits, including some members of the Pomeroy and Root families, had joined the Hancock Shakers around 1820, after becoming dissatisfied with a short-lived group in Pittsfield.

1A list, by no means exhaustive, of Partridges professing Shakerism may be assembled from the invaluable Shaker membership file in the Western Reserve Historical Society and from various Shaker manuscript collections. Bishop Edward Partridge was descended from the Partridges of Hadley and Hatfield, Mass. Of the many Partridges of this branch of the family in western Mass. I have found only one in Pittsfield—Edward's father, who had settled there from Hatfield, Mass., after the Revolution and who married Miss Jemina Bidwell of the neighboring village of Tyringham. Most of the Shaker Partridges joined the Tyringham community.

The genealogy and family history of Edward Partridge can be reconstructed from: Daniel White Wells and Reuben Field Wells, A History of Hatfield, Massachusetts (Springfield, Mass., 1910), 172-175, 189, 431-433; Sylvester Judd, History of Hadley ... Massachusetts (Northampton, Mass., 1863), 550-551; J. E. A. Smith (comp.), The History of Pittsfield ... from the year 1800 to the year 1876 (2 vols.; Springfield and Boston, 1859-76), II, 17; George Henry Partridge, Partridge Genealogy: Descendants of George Partridge of Duxbury, Mass. (Norwood, Mass.: Privately Printed, 1915); the articles of George Homer Partridge in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, LVII (1903), 50-58, 141-142, 281-288, 389-397, and LIX (1909), 90-95; and the articles on Bishop Edward Partridge in the Utah Gen. and Hist. Mag., VII (Jul., 1916), 105-109, 122-127. The last named article is somewhat incomplete and inaccurate. The Partridges of Duxbury and Medfield are not related to Bishop Edward Partridge.

2J. E. A. Smith (comp.), The History of Pittsfield, II, 143-145.
calling themselves "Reformed Methodists." About this time John Pomeroy Root, the farm deacon of North Union (to whom Ashbel Kitchell had refused permission to die), was among those who found the Shaker haven at Hancock.

Edward Partridge, a fellow townsman of John Pomeroy Root and quite possibly Root's youthful acquaintance, also became a dissenter from the local Congregationalist and Episcopalian orthodoxy. And in the light of North Union's influence on Rigdonism and Mormonism it seems more than an accident that Partridge would later perform the same general duties among the Mormons that Root carried out among the Shakers.

The dissident faith chosen by Partridge was not Reformed Methodism but a belief known as Universal Restorationism. Universal Restorationism taught that all men could be saved, and the twenty-year-old Partridge considered this a satisfying answer to all the dogmatic sectarianism that surrounded him in the Pittsfield area. He remained a Universal Restorationist until his conversion many years later to the restorationist doctrines of Sidney Rigdon.

He did not, however, remain in Pittsfield. Western Massachusetts seemed to offer still less opportunity for making his fortune than it did for saving his soul. So, shortly after his conversion to Universal Restorationism he went West. Settling in Painesville, Ohio, Partridge became an enterprising businessman and soon enjoyed a gratifying reputation for honesty, dependability, and industry. Within a few years he held title to several pieces of land and was the owner of a profitable hatter's business.

Prosperity did not prevent the thrifty hatter from tilling the land to supplement his income, and he regularly planted the twenty cleared acres of a hundred-acre tract he owned in Ashtabula county, just across the county line from Leman Copley's farm at Thomson; and for speculative purposes in

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1History of the Church. I, 129, note.
2E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 139.
this new and booming country he also bought two town lots in Painesville and owned parts of two others. In his spare time the ambitious young merchant was general representative, recruiter, and dues collector in Painesville for the newly founded Geauga County Agricultural Society. In this public-spirited role Partridge carried on a tradition of his home town; for Pittsfield, where the American county fair was invented and preached, was a center of the early nineteenth-century movement to improve American agriculture.

In 1828 Partridge's prominence and popularity won for him an unsolicited nomination for county commissioner; but as a man of principle he refused to sully his good name by associating with the many greedy office seekers who were entering their names for other than public purposes. His natural reaction in politics, as in religion, was to withdraw from evil, not to fight it: a good communitarian habit.

For some reason known only to himself Partridge became dissatisfied with his life in Painesville and about 1828 he began advertising in the local press that he wished "to quit the Hatting business, and leave Painesville." Beginning in January of that year he ran a series of advertisements in the Painesville Telegraph announcing that all his property was for sale—including his house, his hatter's shop, and several parcels of land in and around Painesville. Many of his currency-short backwoods customers would not pay their bills, and though he bent over backwards to give them credit, his many debtors forced the kindly and generous merchant to threaten legal action for the payment of all debts by February 15, 1830; for he was determined, he announced

1Painesville Telegraph, Dec. 28, 1827, Jan. 18, 1828. The landholdings may also be traced in the land records of Geauga and Ashtabula counties. The hundred-acre farm was located in Harpersfield, Ashtabula county.
2Painesville Telegraph, Jan. 26, 1827. 3Ibid., Sept. 12, 1828.
4Ibid., Sept. 8, 1829. 5Ibid., Jan. 25, 1828.
to the public, "to settle as much of my business as possible this winter."  

Possibly Partridge had finally decided to follow his Massachusetts relatives into the communitarian life—that of Rigdon's Family in Kirtland—for he had been trying to sell out only after his conversion to Rigdonism in 1828. When the Mormon Prophet arrived in February, 1831 and supplanted the Family with the United Order of Enoch, Partridge became its first and most conscientious official, performing his exacting duties with such singleminded loyalty and devotion that the Prophet once called him "a pattern of piety and one of the Lord's great men."  

By the very first revelation issued in Ohio on February 1, 1831 the Lord commanded that Partridge be ordained bishop of the church and that he "leave his merchandize" and work for the United Order of Enoch—which was just about to be revealed. The bishop's first task was to set up the new Order, but before he could begin he learned that the zealous Colesville Saints would soon be arriving in Ohio from New York. He would therefore have to apply his patience and business talents to the problem of finding enough land for their settlement. This would not be easy, for there was no money to pay for the land. And was it not silly, as many thought, to purchase land in Ohio when, as all knew, the Center Place of Zion was to be farther west?  

For a solution to these problems the Prophet in March, 1831 inquired of the Lord. The Lord answered that for the present all the Saints impatient to gather into Zion should remain in Ohio. "And inasmuch as ye have lands, ye shall impart to the eastern brethren."  

New arrivals from Colesville and elsewhere who could not be thus provided for should individually purchase only

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1Ibid., Jan. 12, 1830. See also Jul. 12, 1827 and Aug. 1, 1828.
2History of the Church, I, 128-129, note.
4D & C, 68: 2.
enough land for their needs; for "it must needs be necessary that ye save all
the money that ye can . . . to purchase land for an inheritance, even the
city." The exact location of the City, said the Lord, "is not yet to be
revealed"; but as soon as the Colesville Saints arrived in May, the Lord would
reveal the land of their permanent inheritances and appoint certain men to
purchase it for the church as a whole. Only then could the Saints begin to
gather into Zion.

This revelation was of no practical value for solving Partridge's
problems. Since so few of the Saints were willing to "impair" their lands,
he still needed money—or at least, some very cheap land. It was the latter
alternative that now very suddenly presented itself, and it came from a
totally unexpected quarter.

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When Leman Copley learned of the revelation, with its hints that the
United Order might be started among the Colesville Saints, the former Shaker
immediately made available his own extensive landholdings in Thompson for
half their assessed value.  In this offer he was joined by Ezra Tnayre,
another former Shaker living with him, so that altogether their lands amounted
to about 1,000 acres.  Copley was tired of all the preaching—first to the
Shakers and then to the church at large—of the new law of the United Order.
He was impatient to get the Order going.

The Mormon preachers had in fact done little to advance the United
Order. Two months before, in March, the Prophet's Shaker mission had proved
fruitless, and since then nothing had been done to put the Order into practice.
From February to May, 1831 many elders had been travelling about proclaiming

1"Newel Knight's Journal," Scraps of Biography, 69.
2Ezra Booth, "Letter No. 7," in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 200-
201.
the new law and at the same time preaching against the kind of spiritualism that had existed among members of the Family and that had carried over into Mormonism. But these preachers harped on the dangers of visionary phenomena much more than they praised the Order, so that by May they were able to root out the excessive spiritualism of Kirtland. There was no excuse to delay the Order, and Copley saw an opportunity to make his fellow Mormons practice what they preached.

At first, chances for the success of the Order seemed slim. For during this same period Bishop Partridge visited several outlying groups of Saints and found many who protested against the new law. Indeed, some leading Saints were already stating what later became the official position of the church when it was forced to shelve the Order: that the time had not yet come when the law could be fully established. They argued that the Saints were too scattered, too disorganized, and too small in number for a successful Order. Above all, these critics said, the Saints were too "untaught." Ignorance of true doctrine, for example, had already led several self-seekers to join the church in the belief that if everything were to be common, they could "glut themselves upon the labors of others." In short, many Saints could not understand the "things of the Kingdom."

As a devout ex-Shaker Copley would intuitively understand these "things of the Kingdom." But Bishop Partridge, though he approved with certain reservations of Copley's offer of land, still had some doubts about the practicality and even the morality of buying so much land. He asked the Prophet the questions of a literal believer in Mormonism and of a scrupulous businessman. Did not the Word of God itself, as given through Joseph in the original United

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1 John Corrill, A Brief History, 17.
Order revelation—did it not expressly warn: "Thou shalt contract no debts with the world"? And how was he to pay for Copley's holdings without burdening the church with a bank debt?

On more than one occasion in his short career as a Mormon Partridge's habits of rigid honesty and compulsive righteousness had already led him to be more godly than the Prophet. Two months before, for example, the Prophet had ordained him to the discerning of gifts and spirits. When the unimaginative Partridge asked him how the process would operate, the Prophet shook his faith by explaining that spirits and gifts were discerned not by an inner light, but by an external skill involving a secret handshake. Now, in May, 1831, the Prophet again threatened the bishop's faith by ordering him to purchase the Copley farm. The church would thus incur a debt—an offense against the law of God as set forth in the United Order revelation.

Bishop Partridge's awkward citation of the United Order revelation annoyed the Prophet, who was a Hamiltonian loose constructionist when it came to fiscal policy. He hastened to delete the offending line at the first opportunity. In the meantime, Partridge acquiesced in the will of the Prophet. But he still suspected that his obedience was sinful.

Aside from these moral qualms Partridge felt that the revelation concerning the purchase of land for the Colesville Saints was too short and too general. He must definitely know to what extent the newcomers were to live under the United Order. After all, Ohio was not Zion but only the Stake of

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2Ezra Booth, "Letter No. 7," in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 200. The command not to contract debts was part of three verses the Prophet had inserted into the revelation in order to account for the Colesville Saints. Immediately after the bishop's objection in May, 1831 the Prophet changed the revelation to read: "Thou shalt contract no debts with the world, except thou are commanded." I have put the Prophet's emendation in italics. See the original ms. version of the revelation as printed in gentile newspapers (below, Appendix I) and the version of 1833 published in the Book of Commandments, verses 54-57.
Zion; there seemed little reason to build a community in Ohio if the millen- 

nial gathering place was very soon to be appointed in the far west. Partridge, 
in fact, was at odds with the Prophet over the whole manner of establishing 

the Order; and the Prophet, resenting his disturbingly concrete questions, 
had to rebuke him and suggest to him that he show more independence and ini-
tiative.  

In May the flexible Prophet and his cautious bishop went over to 

Thompson to help settle the Colesville families on the Copley farm, and Par-

tridge, little daunted by divine criticism, renewed his request for detailed 

instructions.  

Joseph inquired of the Lord and received a revelation command-
ing the bishop and the two men he had chosen as his counselors, namely Isaac 

Morley and John Corrill, to organize the Colesville Branch according to the 

United Order of Enoch. The Colesville Saints were to remain together as a 
group with their own Storehouse. No property consecrated by them to the 

Storehouse, either in money or in kind, was to be allocated to any other 
group—a reference perhaps to the Family which, at least in name, still existed. 

The bishop, however, who was expected to give up his own hatter's business, 

was permitted to draw upon the Storehouse in Thompson for his own support. 

After having consecrated their wealth, the Colesville Saints were to 

receive their portions, "every man equal according to his family, according 
to his circumstances and his wants and his needs." Each man's portion (farm) 

was to be secured to him by "a writing" (a deed?), but if he transgress and 

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1See D & C, 50: 39 and 58: 11-18.

2D & C, 58: 21-34.

3History of the Church, I, 173.

4D & C, 51 (given about May 21, 1831); John Corrill, A Brief History, 

18. Morley and Corrill were not ordained elders until June 3. See the 

"Minutes of General Conference held in Geauga County, Ohio, 3 June, 1831," 
in the "Far West Record" (ms.), pp. 4-5. The ordination was performed by 

Lyman Wight, a Family member and zealous communitarian, who probably opposed 
the dissolution of the Family and was threatened by the Prophet four days 
be cut off, he shall not claim back the surplus he had consecrated, but only that portion "deeded unto him . . . according to the laws of the land."

These arrangements were to last until the Christ, "who cometh quickly in an hour you think not," commanded them to leave for Zion. Partridge, said the Lord, should follow the same procedure in all other places, in all churches.

Such is the revelation as it has come down to us. It departed from the United Order revelation in that it emphasized the "writing" or deed, securing the farms to the stewards and not the deed securing the farms and other property to the church. This indicated a shift toward individualism that did not take place openly until after 1833. Nevertheless, the concrete instructions seem to have satisfied the ever questioning Bishop Partridge. Only once more in his life would he waver in his faith. And after his death his two daughters, equally strong in the faith, felt profoundly honored when the Prophet made them his plural wives.

Leman Copley had not consecrated his farm outright to the church. When the tightly knit Colesville group came to him, he made some kind of contract, the terms of which are now unknown. These terms possibly had to do with the rights of some Ohio Saints already living on the property; for since his return from the Shaker mission, Copley, together with Ezra Thayer and a few other persons, had been conducting some sort of communal life, sub rosa. The sixty Colesville Saints had to accept Copley's little coterie along with his hospitality.

The editor of the Western Courier estimated the entire number of Saints in Thompson at two hundred. While his figure may be slightly exaggerated, he was quick to note that the establishment of a Mormon colony at

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1In & O, 51.

Thompson contradicted the doctrine that the millennial Center Place was to be located farther west. "They have commenced," he wrote sarcastically, "a new settlement in the Township of Thompson, near the line of Ashtabula County, thus extending the holy land farther east than the limits originally fixed." ¹

By late May the twenty families from Colesville were all settled and went to work with a will improving the largely uncleared land. Bishop Partridge transferred Newel Knight from the near defunct Kirtland Family and placed him in charge of the Thompson community. Bickering and dissension arose almost at once. According to Knight, Copley had broken his contract. Consequently, said Knight, "I went to Kirtland to see Brother Joseph." As Knight left, Copley and Thayer, having withdrawn their offer to sell their land at a bargain price, now took steps to apply the statutes of Ohio to the easterners—as "trespassers" on their land. ²

Knight had to go to Kirtland, anyhow, to attend a three-day conference of the whole church that began there on June 3—a conference that officially made Missouri the Land of Promise. When Elder Knight had finished unburdening himself to his beloved Prophet concerning the treachery of the two quondam Shakers, Joseph, unwilling to contest the threatened litigation, inquired of the Lord. In answer he received a revelation commanding Knight to stand fast as head of the Colesville group and to "flee the land," journeying with them to the Land of Missouri, "unto the borders of the Lamanites. And . . . behold, I say unto you, seek ye a living like unto men, until I prepare a place for you." The operation of the Order was to be suspended until the Saints began

¹Western Courier, May 26, 1831. The contradiction was being sarcastically noted as late as 1844. Cf. James H. Hunt, Mormonism (St. Louis, 1844), 131.

gathering in Missouri.

Surprisingly, neither Copley nor Thayre suffered excommunication. But without mentioning Copley by name the same revelation stated that "it had been better for him had he been drowned in the depth of the sea." Gradually Copley took the road to apostasy.

As for Thayre, he was commanded by a revelation given soon afterwards to join all the other leading elders in the migration of missionaries to the Land of Missouri. No United Order division of land, said the revelation, would now take place in Ohio. If Thayre refused to go, he could take back his property and leave the church forever. And the revelation went on to rebuke the rich who would not give their "substance to the poor." This was an obvious reference to Thayre, but apparently the Colesville Saints were guilty in part, for the revelation also castigated the poor who are greedy for "other men's goods." Only the pure in heart would inherit the fatness of the earth.

By late June the unfortunate Colesville Saints were already in Kirtland preparing for the move to Missouri, where they would be the very first to receive an inheritance in Zion. Besides the advance guard of twenty-eight missionaries, the only other Saints permitted to leave for Missouri were the former communists of Chardon.

Exactly what went wrong with the United Order community at Thompson will probably never be known. Very likely a latent Shakerism was at the bottom of it; for, as the Prophet later wrote of Copley's conversion, Copley was "apparently honest-hearted," but still felt that "the Shakers were right in some particulars."

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1 D & C, 54; 56: 6-7. 2 D & C, 54: 5. 3 D & C, 56: 8-10.

4 Painesville Telegraph, Jun. 28, 1831.

However brief the life of the United Order at Thompson, its fall was serious enough to force the Prophet to turn his face westward again. And more important for the future of his movement, he was forced to revise Mormon scriptures. To suppress the fact that God's new Order had failed he omitted from the first printed collection of the revelations (1833) the one which had commanded Partridge to set up the Order in Thompson.\(^1\)

The arrival of the Colesville Saints in Kirtland only increased the excitement and bustle of "conference time" in that village. The three-day conference long since planned by the Prophet and finally begun on June 3, 1831 witnessed wondrous things, for the Lord poured forth His Spirit upon his servants. As Joseph had predicted, Satan himself tried to break up the meeting, binding the tongues of two elders, so that they could not speak; but Joseph exorcized the Devil and the "Man of Sin" departed, to the triumphant joy of all. When he was gone, the great office of high priest—the full authority of the Melchizedek Priesthood—was conferred on several elders for the first time in the New Dispensation. And on June 7, the day after the conference, the Lord finally and definitely designated Missouri as the place of refuge for the Last Days and commanded all the leading elders, including Pratt, Rigdon, and the Prophet himself, to leave immediately for the land of their inheritance, travelling two by two and preaching the gospel along the way. Bishop Partridge was to dissolve his still flourishing business and take up residence in Zion. And when all had arrived in Missouri, another conference would be held and the Lord would announce the exact location of the New Jerusalem. The uncertainty

\(^1\)D & C, 51. The Prophet omitted this from the first collection of his revelations, the Book of Commandments (Independence, Mo., 1833). And when he finally let it see print in the second collection (1835), he revised it to accord with similar revisions, made at the same time, in the text of the original United Order Laws. By all these changes—never publicly announced to the church—he was able to soften the communist doctrine of consecration and strengthen the individualist element of stewardship. See D & C (1835 ed.), section 23.
of the Saints, their suffering, their poverty, and their yearning for eternal
inherances would finally come to an end. And once more the glorious City of
Enoch would glitter before the eyes of the Lord.

These new and greater promises heartened the pious emigrants from
Colesville and revived the millennial hopes of the rest of the church. With
so glorious a future in the Land of Missouri, the Saints might well rejoice
in the failure of Thompson. Once again the Prophet had found the solution to
his problems in a flight to the West. Kirtland continued to grow, but hence-
forth the chiliastic soul of the church abided in Zion.

The Family itself seems to have continued on Isaac Morley's farm in
name only. By June, 1831 the new Thompson Order had made it superfluous and
its leaders were assigned to missions. After the departure of Newel Knight,
John Corrill, Bishop Partridge, and Isaac Morley himself for Missouri, the
Prophet made Titus Billings overseer of the farm. In August the Lord commanded
Billings to sell the farm—over the objections of Morley, who now regretted
having consecrated it. The farm was quickly sold and the Family became a
memory—a very powerful memory of the seedtime of Mormonism.

Although a small knot of Saints still lived in the wooded township of
Kirtland for several years after 1831, the little village quickly fell back into
its natural obscurity. This Thompson Branch, as it was now called, did not
live under the United Order, but hints of its former Shaker spiritualism per-
sisted for many months. Thus, in February, 1833 one Elder Thomas King insti-
gated a revival of spiritualism. Joseph always discouraged such emotional

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2D & C, 63: 39; 64: 15-20. Some of Newel K. Whitney's property was also sold. See the Cache county records, "Deed Record Book," XIV, 532, XV, 492.
were present to make sure the Saints were not being deceived by Satan. To quash Elder King's revival Joseph and his two counselors, Sidney Rigdon and F. G. Williams, appointed one Salmon Gee as presiding elder over Thompson. When the "diabolical acts of enthusiasm" continued, King was ordered to appear before a council of high priests in Kirtland and the revival ended.

After 1833 minor eruptions of "enthusiasm" would bubble to the surface of Mormonism, but the excesses of the Family were gone, and every effort was made to expunge them from memory. The Prophet continued to work against the other element derived from the Family—the quasi-communism of the United Order—but, supported as it was by a revelation of God, this element remained very powerful and would come vigorously to life in Zion.

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The Prophet's vagueness and vacillation concerning the location of Zion had long kept the Saints in a state of anxious puzzlement. Ever since July, 1830, when he first hinted that Zion would be located outside New York state, he resisted time and again the importunities of those who asked for a revelation giving the exact location of Zion. True enough, he had appointed Missouri as the "Land of Zion," but he himself remained in Kirtland. From the day he left Fayette in January, 1831 until the breakup of the Thompson Order in June, 1831, the general consensus of the Saints seems to have been that Kirtland,

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1E.g., see the History of the Church, I, 369.

2See the "Epistle of the First Presidency, to the Church in Thompson, Geauga County, Ohio," Kirtland, Feb. 6, 1833, from Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams; and the letter of John Murdock to the church in Thompson, Kirtland, Feb. 11, 1833, both in the History of the Church, I, 324-326.


the eastern border of Zion, was as good a place for the millennial Gathering as the still undisclosed City of Zion somewhere in the far west.

But early in June the downfall of Thompson threw the whole church into confusion; for as a result of the Thompson debacle the Prophet began stressing the need to gather into the Center Place of Zion, at some indefinite spot on the Missouri river. The sarcastic editor of the Painesville Telegraph took keen delight in describing the near disillusionment of the Saints:

> After all the good followers of Jo. Smith from York state had got fairly settled down in this vicinity, which Rigdon had declared to be their "eternal inheritance," Jo. must needs invent another "command of God." At a meeting of the tribe on the 3d. inst. [June]... 26 elders were ordered to start immediately for Missouri ... where they contemplate building the New Jerusalem ... and they have expressed doubts whether ... [they] will ever return to this "land of promise."

Both Rigdon and the Prophet had unwittingly misled the Saints, for it now appeared that Kirtland was only a temporary halting place.

Later, in describing his departure for Missouri, Joseph made the locating and surveying of the City of Zion—a foregone conclusion—sound like a promised revelation. He had left Kirtland, he wrote, in obedience to a prior commandment which promised that "if we were faithful, the land of our inheritance even the place for the city of the New Jerusalem, should be revealed." But the Prophet's trip was, if anything, long overdue. By late June, 1831 the Mormon church in Ohio was growing rapidly. There would soon be a thousand

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1Western Reserve Chronicle, Jun. 30, 1831, in a reprint from the Painesville Gazette.

2Painesville Telegraph, Jun. 11, 1831; reprinted in the Western Courier, Jun. 23, 1831. The editor, E. D. Howe, attributed the misplaced reliance on Kirtland to Rigdon. Mormonism Unveiled, 110-111, 217. But as early as Feb. 22, 1831, the Prophet himself had written to Martin Harris, then in Palmyra, asking him to come to Kirtland to help pick out land for a "compact" settlement and referring to the Kirtland area as "this our inheritance." See the letter written from Kirtland in the Journal History, Feb. 22, 1831.

3History of the Church, I, 188.
zealous members, and their mood of happy anticipation made the Land of Missouri seem ever more lovely and even more appealing than their millennial hopes had painted it. Since early winter the missionaries to the Lamanites had been sending back many detailed and optimistic reports, and these only strengthened the Prophet's new-found resolution to build his future in the West.  

For the many leading elders and for the few lesser Saints already in Missouri eagerly awaiting Joseph's arrival the process of locating the precise spot on which the City of Zion would rise was merely a formal aspect of the millennial Gathering. Far more weighty in the economy of God was the Gathering itself. The climax of the New Dispensation would come when the elect of the whole world would congregate in the City to await the awesome trumpet blasts of the great day.

The national American mentality only reinforced this crucial Mormon conviction. The physical process of settling the virgin land of early nineteenth-century America harmonized perfectly with the deepest temporal values and strongest habits of the agrarian backwoodsmen and rustic villagers who believed in the divine mission of Joseph Smith. They knew that Zion would be built on the rock of the United Order of Enoch, with enough land for each man according to his need. It mattered little whether the Prophet should say that this or that quarter section of land was the Center Place; it mattered a great deal that the Gathering be started.

Now that the only place of refuge seemed to be in Missouri, nearly every Saint in Kirtland made ready to leave, most of them disposing of their property with little regard for pecuniary return. The Prophet could not withhold the commandment to leave even if he wished to. From news of the

1Ibid., I, 181-183.

2Western Reserve Chronicle, Jun. 30, 1831, a reprint from the Painesville Gazette.
missionaries to the Lamanites and from various rumors many Saints had easily guessed that the City could not be far from Jackson county and a few adventurous souls even started for western Missouri before commanded to do so—without the guidance of God's revelation. The time had come for the Prophet himself to visit the Land of Missouri and to locate, precisely and officially, the "central place" for his imperial community, and early summer was a most propitious season.

In preparing for the trip the Prophet appointed several new officials to the United Order, and finally on June 19, 1831 he started on the momentous journey together with Sidney Rigdon, Martin Harris, Bishop Edward Partridge, William Wines Phelps, Algernon Sidney Gilbert (and wife), and Joseph Coe. Of the trip itself the Prophet remembered only a bitterly contentious interview in Cincinnati with Reverend Walter Scott, a co-founder with Campbell and Rigdon of the Campbellite church. Upon arriving in St. Louis the Prophet split his party in half, leaving behind Rigdon, Gilbert, and Morley to wait for the Colesville group. With the three remaining men he immediately set out to traverse the breadth of Missouri on foot.

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When, in mid-July, the Prophet reached the point in Jackson county where hills and woods gave way to prairies, he had a joyful reunion with the Saints waiting there for him. The hot prairie sun shone down on a meeting that was, as the Prophet wrote, "a glorious one, and moistened with many tears."2

But after having fallen asleep so many nights during the overland journey to the sound of howling wolves, the Prophet's joy was somewhat diluted by the sight of the trackless wilderness all around him; and just across the

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2 *History of the Church*, I, 189.
river lay the foreboding Indian Territory inhabited by Indians whose ferocity was no less real for the Hebrew lineage accorded them in the Book of Mormon.

"Our reflections," he wrote,

were many, coming as we had from a highly cultivated state of society in the east, and standing now upon the confines of western limits of the United States, and looking into the vast wilderness of those that sat in darkness; how natural it was to observe the degradation, leanness of intellect, ferocity, and jealousy of a people that were nearly a century behind the times and to feel for those who roamed about without benefit of civilization, refinement, or religion; yea, and exclaim in the language of the Prophets: "When will the wilderness blossom as a rose? When will Zion be built up in her glory, and where will Thy temple stand, unto which all nations shall come in the last days?" Our anxiety was soon relieved by another revelation.  

The revelation which immediately came in answer to these questions gave instructions for setting up the United Order of Enoch and, at long last, the City of Zion:

1. Hearken, ye elders of my church, saith the Lord your God, who have assembled yourselves together, according to my commandments, in this land of Missouri, which is the land which I have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the saints.

2. Wherefore, this is the land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion.

3. And thus saith the Lord your God, if you will receive wisdom here is wisdom. Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place; and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the court-house.

4. Wherefore, it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints, and also every tract lying westward, even unto the line running directly between Jew (Indian) and Gentile (whites);

5. And also every tract bordering by the prairies, inasmuch as my disciples are enabled to buy lands. Behold this is wisdom, that they may obtain it for an everlasting inheritance.  

Following this prologue came several verses assigning leaders of the United Order to their various duties. Bishop Partridge was to act as agent for the church in the purchase of land "in all the regions round about," to divide this land into inheritances, and to distribute it according to need.

He was also to make preparations for the imminent arrival of the Colesville

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1 Ibid.

2D & C 57: 1-5. This revelation was omitted from the Book of Commandments (1833).
Saints, just as he had done a few months before in Thompson. Algernon Sidney Gilbert was to establish a store to supply what the Saints needed "to plant them in their inheritances." At the same time he would make profits to be added to the general fund for the purchase of land. Under the United Order Gilbert's store had the public name of Mercantile Establishment and the secret name of "Osondah." Gilbert would find a lucrative non-Mormon clientele among the Kansas Indians, the hungry dragoons of Fort Leavenworth, and the trade caravans leaving the "jumping-off place" of Independence for Santa Fe. Although a revelation given back in Ohio had commanded Gilbert to forsake his worldly store and to become a business agent for the church, he was not on hand to hear this new and more specific assignment; for he was still trudging through the wilderness of Missouri toward Independence together with Sidney Rigdon and Isaac Morley.

To William Wines Phelps, a former newspaper editor, Joseph gave the order to settle in Independence, where he would "be established as a printer unto the church." Back in Ohio Phelps had already been commanded to work with Cowdery in selecting, printing, and writing books for the schools of the church and in copying and printing Mormon scriptures. Now he would be in charge of the Printing Concern of the United Order, which went under the cover name of "Shinellans" or "Laneshine House." As in the case of the Mercantile Establishment, profits, derived chiefly from the church newspaper he would edit, would be used for the common benefit of the Saints—a provision that annoyed the impractical Phelps.

1&D & C, 57: 6-10.
2Alphonso Wemore, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1837), 93. "The Mercantile" still survived as a term for a general store in a few rural sections of Missouri in the 1950's.
3&D & C, 57: 11.
Oliver Cowdery, who had been displaced by Rigdon as First Elder and superseded by John Whitmer as Church Historian, was now forced to yield his office of chief church editor, writer, and literary man to Phelps, whose assistant he now became. During the next few years Cowdery's fortunes in the church would sink still lower—to the point of a humiliating excommunication.

For all the remaining elders Joseph had other plans and closed the revelation by saying: "And unto the residue of both elders and members further directions shall be given hereafter. Even so. Amen." 1

Less than a week after issuing this, the first revelation in Zion, the Prophet joyfully greeted Rigdon, Gilbert, and Morley as they marched into Independence at the head of the long column of Colesville Saints—the first human beings to receive their inheritance in the New Dispensation. Nothing, it seemed, remained to do but complete certain arrangements for the inauguration of the United Order of Enoch and then to turn to the dedication ceremonies. But that same day a profound crisis intervened which foreshadowed the eventual fate of the United Order, and, indeed, of early Mormonism itself.

The divine laws of the Order were hardly five months old, and yet here in Zion itself credible gossip had it that two important elders connected with the Order were guilty of some unnamed and unknowable economic skulduggery.

The gossip soon broke into reality. Since the arrival of the Prophet two weeks before there had appeared a bitter but as yet undefined rift among the five original missionaries to the Lamanites—missionaries whose main accomplishment had been their inspection of soil conditions and land prices in western Missouri. Two of these men, Peter Whitmer and Frederick G. Williams, hinted that two of their former colleagues, namely Oliver Cowdery and Ziba Peterson, had engaged in some dubious dealings which no one dared describe openly. Cowdery, along with Whitmer and Williams, was an official in the

1D & C, 57: 6-16.
United Order.

Peterson had apparently planned to ignore the United Order and avoid laboring with his own hands by soliciting the labor of the Saints. Though the specific charge against Peterson was never mentioned, later events pointed to a sacrilegious crime: Peterson and Cowdery had attempted to buy land around the sacred Center Place and profit by the inevitable explosion in land values that would accompany the Gathering in Zion.

The whole episode marked the beginning of strife between sincere communitarians like Edward Partridge, Ezra Booth, Frederick G. Williams, and Peter Whitmer on one side and certain victims of capitalist nostalgia like Peterson, W. W. Phelps, and Oliver Cowdery on the other side. Zion, her soil still untouched by the spade of the dedication ceremony, was already getting to be as contentious as Kirtland.

A report of these dealings reached the ear of the Prophet, and the arrival of the Colesville Saints afforded him a fine opportunity to deal with them in his second revelation in Zion. Only the first part of the revelation took up the matter of land speculation. It warned all officials of the Order to be faithful and then, without mentioning Peterson's offense, divested him of his titles of Apostle and Elder and thrust him down, as one witness wrote, to "labor with his own hands." 1 Two years later, still an unreconstructed capitalist opponent of the United Order, Peterson was "delivered over to the buffetings of Satan."

In the rest of this second revelation in Zion the Prophet rounded out certain governmental details and made ready to leave for Kirtland. The

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1D & C, 58: 60; Ezra Booth, "Letter No. 7," in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 208. Booth quotes this verse concerning Peterson and also gives the background of the dissension. The official Mormon interpretation of this verse is merely that Peterson lost his status as one of the "heralds" to the Lamanites. See the official cross references for this verse in D & C, 58 (1921 ed.).
dependable Bishop Partridge—who still complained of inadequate instructions—was commanded to make his home in Zion, to collect all consecrations in money and in kind, and to buy lots for the construction of buildings for the Printing Concern and for the Storehouse. To help fill the Storehouse with capital to buy land the Church would appoint an agent to receive whatever consecrations could be collected in Ohio. Lest the bishop be swamped by poor applicants for landed inheritances, he was to make sure that "the gathering be not in haste, nor by flight." In general, he was to have charge of Zion and rule it by means of conferences.

The ambitious W. W. Phelps was admonished to humble himself and to make his home in Zion, where he would run the Printing Concern.

To encourage the consecration of money among other Saints the affluent but miserly Martin Harris was advised to take up residence in Zion and to "be an example unto the church in laying his moneys before the bishop." To encourage consecrations among other Saints like Harris back in Ohio the revelation commanded Sidney Rigdon to write a description of the beauties of the Land of Zion and a statement of the will of God that it be settled. After leading the dedication ceremonies Rigdon was to make up a general fundraising letter and a "subscription" to be presented to all the churches in the east; for Bishop Partridge would need a huge amount of capital "to purchase this whole region of country, as soon as time would permit." Niggardly, tight-fisted Saints among the easterners would receive no inheritance, "save it be by the shedding of blood."

As for the rest of the elders, including Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Oliver Cowdery, the Lord said: "Verily . . . the time has not yet come for many years, for them to receive their inheritance in this land; except they

1\textsuperscript{DP & C}, 50: 39; 58: 15, 21-26.  
2\textsuperscript{DP & C}, 58: 56.  
3\textsuperscript{DP & C}, 58: 35.  
4\textsuperscript{DP & C}, 58: 52.  


desire it through prayer, only as it shall be appointed unto them of the Lord." Instead they were to return to the east to "push the people together from the ends of the earth." After one more conference in Zion Joseph himself, Sidney Rigdon, and Oliver Cowdery were to start for Ohio "to accomplish the residue of the work . . . appointed unto them in their own land." The revelation ended on a strongly chiliasmic note: "For verily the sound must go forth from this place into all the world; and unto the uttermost parts of the earth . . . and behold the Son of man cometh: Amen."²

Peace now seemed to reign among the Saints, and on the following day they all met at Independence for an anti-climactic but imposing dedication of the Land of Zion. Being perfectly suited for the honor, Sidney Rigdon officiated at the lengthy and solemn ceremonies and he performed impressively. Standing up before the assembly, the eloquent communitarian intoned a series of formal questions to be answered by the Colesville Saints:

"Do you receive this land for the land of your inheritance with thankful hearts from the Lord?"

The answer from all: "We do."

"Do you pledge yourselves to keep the laws of God [i.e., consecration and stewardship] in this land which you never kept in your own land?"

"We do."

"Do you pledge to see that others of your brethren who shall come hither do keep the laws of God?"

¹D & C, 58: 1d. I have quoted the Book of Commandments version of this verse (Chap. lix, v. 56). About 1835, when there seemed still less willingness among the leading elders of Ohio to settle in the wilderness the Prophet modified this verse to read "through the prayer of faith," which made such a removal more difficult. In either version the statement constituted clear evidence that he had no intention of "liquidating" the Kirtland church, as R. Kent Fielding has argued. See "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland, Ohio," Utah His. Qtr., XVII (Oct., 1959), 333, and below, pp. 160-163.

²D & C, 58: 64-65; Book of Commandments, chap. lix, verses 79-81.
"We do."

Then after a short prayer Rigdon uttered the words that began the heroic period of early Mormonism:

"I now pronounce this land consecrated and dedicated unto the Lord for a possession and inheritance for the Saints (in the name of Jesus Christ, having authority from Him) and for all the faithful servants of the Lord to the remotest ages of time. Amen." ¹

After this formal acceptance by the Colesville Saints the moment came to lay the cornerstone of the City of Enoch. Oliver Cowdery took a rough nearby stone, and when he had put it in place twelve other elders representing the twelve tribes of Israel lifted the bale of a scrub oak and laid it on the stone to symbolize the first stick and stone of the New Jerusalem. Cowdery then closed the ceremonies by delivering an appropriate discourse. ²

That same day in an analogous ceremony in Kaw township, twelve miles west of Independence, the Prophet assisted the Colesville Branch in laying the first log for the first house in that area.

On the next day, August 3, the temple lot itself was consecrated on the top of a small rise in Independence, a spot which was destined to become the center of the universe. Here the Prophet himself laid the cornerstone. Then after ordering that a tree be stripped of its bark and raised, he directed that the letter "T" standing for "Temple," be carved on the south side and that on the east side the word "ZOMI!" be cut. "ZOMI!" he told the thirty Saints there present, stood for ZOMAS, the original word for Zion. ³

¹See the description given by Oliver Cowdery to John Whitmer in the latter's "History of the Church," chap. ix, pp. 31-32. The dialogue was also printed, with some errors, in the History of the Church, I, 196, note.


³History of the Church, I, 196; "Newel Knight's Journal," Scraps of Biography, 71.

⁴Ezra Booth, "Letter No. 6," in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 199.
With the joyful inauguration of the New Jerusalem—already marred by the chastisement of Ziba Peterson and the criticism of other elders—Joseph stood ready to depart. But he accidentally soured the happy anticipations of milk and honey by demanding money of the poor Saints who were to remain in Zion and who were to make it blossom like a rose. He and Rigdon decided to draw upon what little money Bishop Partridge had already accumulated for the Storehouse and to use it for the purchase of stagecoach tickets and canoes.

This mode of travel seemed extravagantly expensive to many Saints and possibly to Partridge himself. It also angered Frederick G. Williams and Peter Whitmer, who were already disgusted with Cowdery and Peterson and who now felt their wounds salted by the decision to give Cowdery a seat in the stagecoach along with brothers Joseph and Sidney. Too cowardly, perhaps, to speak out openly against Cowdery, they began to look for a chance to expatriate on his dark deeds.

Just before leaving Independence the Prophet lashed out at them for their secret mutterings and innuendoes. And the belligerent Sidney Rigdon did not assuage their feelings by replying to critics of the trip with the assertion that "the Lord don't care how much money it takes to get us home."

This parting shaft stung the hard-pressed Partridge, creating an enmity between him and Rigdon (and, by extenuation, between Partridge and the Prophet himself) that was not healed until the Prophet returned the following year. And for the next eleven months the bishop's two counselors, Isaac Morley and John Corrill, kept the pain alive by permitting vague accusations to drift eastward toward the irritable ears of Rigdon.


2Ezra Booth, "Letter No. 7," in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unvailed, 206-207. They used the canoes for the trip down the Missouri river from Independence to St. Louis; the stagecoach, to avoid the easier and cheaper water route from St. Louis to Cincinnati—for fear of drowning it was alleged.

As the canoes of the Prophet and his party glided downstream from the Independence landing toward the Missouri river, they left many a disturbed Saint standing on the dock. A short time after they had gone, Ezra Booth, an admirer of Partridge, worked up enough courage to complain to the bishop.

"Let these men [the Prophet and his companions] never again open their mouths to insult the common sense of mankind by contending for equality and the community of goods in society until there is a thorough alteration in their method of proceeding." 1 A month later Booth apostatized and became one of the first "exposers" of Mormonism. 2

Though he had been captivated by all the loveliness of the western Land of Zion, the Prophet was nevertheless anxious to return to the greater "refinement of society" and the highly cultivated gardens of Ohio. On the last day of a final conference held in Zion from the fourth to the seventh of August he issued a revelation promising to all faithful believers in the Land of Missouri "the good things of the earth," and on the following day he made ready to leave.

After two weeks of divine instruction and human bickering the Prophet's sojourn was at an end. With the laying of the formal and physical foundations of Zion his unquenchable optimism began to reassert itself, and the gloomy reflections that had briefly assailed him on his first sight of the trackless wilderness now swiftly receded in a vision of alabaster and gold that he was never able to suppress, a vision in which he began to see the City of God, the Place of Refuge shining before his eyes. By the time Christ came to pluck up the city into heaven the streets would be paved with gold and its walls built

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1 Ezra Booth, "Letter No. 7," in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 206.
2 History of the Church, I, 215-217.
of Jasper; sheets of gold would encrust the houses; and even the dinner dishes would be of gold—all so that Enoch's City would be in fit condition to ascend into the Celestial Kingdom. Jackson county began to assume the aspect of Eden itself. Had not Enoch and Adam visited western Missouri several centuries before? Indeed, as Joseph revealed seven years later, the Garden of Eden had been located all around the very spot on which his temple was to stand. Many Saints already believed that Enoch's City would be filled with the untold riches of the ten lost tribes of Israel who were living somewhere near the North Pole. 2

In his circular letter setting forth the glories of Jackson county Rigdon likewise improved upon the rude actuality, but not enough to please the Prophet. Joseph's mental picture of the Land of Zion soared far above the somber wilderness:

... the country is unlike the timbered states of the East. As far as the eye can reach the beautiful rolling prairies lie spread out like a sea of meadows; and are decorated with a growth of flowers so gorgeous and grand as to exceed description; and nothing is more fruitful, or a richer stockholder in the blooming prairie than the honey bee. 4

One disadvantage of the region, he thought, was the scarcity of timber. But he noted that excellent timber could be found on the water courses, where, in strips from one to three miles in width ... it grows in luxuriant forests ... of oak, hickory, black walnut, elm, ash, cherry, honey locust, mulberry, coffee bean, hackberry, boxelder, and bass wood; with the addition of cottonwood, butterwood, pecan, and soft and hard maple

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1History of the Church, II, 380, 412; Millennial Star, XII (Apr. 15, 1850), 119.

2E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 127-128. Later, many Saints believed that the New Jerusalem would descend from heaven according to Rev. 21: 2. See John Taylor, Truth Defended and Methodism Weighed in the Balance and Found Wanting (Liverpool, 1845), 5.


4The honey bee was to become the main symbol of the Mormon church—as it already was (informally) for the Shakers.
upon the bottoms. The shrubbery is beautiful, and consists in part of
plums, grapes, crab apple, and persimmons.

The ecologist might be hard put to find many specimens of some of these plants,
but the Prophet had himself seen and touched the soil—so unlike the granite
meadows of New England. It was

rich and fertile; from three to ten feet deep, and generally composed of
rich black mould, intermingled with clay and sand. It yields in abundance
... Horses, cattle and hogs ... seem nearly to raise themselves
... The wild game is less plentiful of course where man has commenced
the cultivation of the soil, than in the wild prairies. Buffalo, elk,
deer, wolves, beaver and many smaller animals roam at pleasure. Turkeys,
geese, swans, ducks, yea a variety of the feathered tribe, are among the
rich abundance that grace the delightful regions of this goodly land—
heritage of the children of God.

As the Prophet warmed to his subject the foreboding prairies vanished and his
per fervid imagination leaped from ocean to ocean to encompass the great and
manifest destiny of the Saints:

The season is mild and delightful nearly three quarters of the year,
and as the land of Zion, situated at about equal distance from the Atlantic
and Pacific oceans ... it bids fair—when the curse is taken from the
land [i.e., the gentiles]—to become one of the most blessed places on the
globe ... The disadvantages here, as in all new countries, are self-
evident—lack of mills and schools; together with the natural privations
and inconveniences which the hand of industry, the refinement of society,
and the polish of science, overcome.

But all these impediments vanish when it is recollected what the
Prophets have said concerning Zion in the last days; how the glory of
Lebanon is to come upon her; the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box tree
together, to beautify the place of His sanctuary, that He may make the
place of His feet glorious. Where for brass, He will bring gold; and for
iron, He will bring silver; and for wood, brass; and for stones, iron;
and where the feast of fat things will be given to the just; yea, when the
splendor of the Lord is brought to our consideration for the good of His
people, the calculations of men and the vain glory of the world vanish,
and we exclaim, "Out of Zion the perfection of beauty, God hath shined."¹

Such was the magnificent vision. And the Prophet's followers saw the
same undeveloped paradise. They looked upon it, as one of them wrote, as

"almost equal to Paradise itself—and our peace and happiness ... were not
in a great degree deficient to that of our first parents in the garden of

Eden. The sudden love of the Saints for this country was that of their westering gentile neighbors raised to an infinite power.

Visions of Eden in the West were common enough in the early nineteenth century. William Gilpin, the father of American geopolitics, went so far as to call Jackson county "the navel of the universe." But never had an agrarian vision of the West reached so high a level of grandiosity and lyricism.

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Back in Kirtland, the Stake of Zion, the Prophet and his fellow travelers confronted a still more difficult situation than the one he met in Missouri. Joseph's departure with all his leading elders in June, 1831 for the more-inspiring foundation of Zion had, by late July, convinced even those few Saints still reluctant to leave Ohio forever that the eastern "borders" of Zion were no longer acceptable to the Lord. True enough, the Prophet had originally planned a "compact" community at Kirtland, but now it seemed clear that the Kingdom of God lay farther westward.

Actually, Joseph showed by his actions that he had no intention

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1Emily M. Austin, Mormonism; or, Life Among the Mormons, Being an Autobiographical Sketch; Including an Experience of Fourteen Years of Mormon Life (Madison, Wis., 1852), 67.

2For the great attraction of Jackson county as a place of settlement see Alphonso Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, 92-93.

3According to Henry Nash Smith the chief concept of the West before the 1840's was that of a "Passage to India." After about 1846 this idea was displaced by the concept of the West as a productive "garden of the world." Smith, Virgin Land (New York, 1950), chap. 11. But the Prophet's idealization of the West as a Garden in 1831 and the similar views of countless other settlers at this time would seem to cast doubt upon Professor Smith's generalization. For the Mormons the concept of the West as a Garden of Eden was not a late arrival of the 1840's and after. Indeed, this concept appeared at least as early as 1801 in Chateaubriand's Atala.


whosoever of abandoning Kirtland to the gentiles. But the Kirtland Saints
thought that his words spoke louder than his actions. He found them in such
great anxiety concerning Zion that he was forced to inquire of the Lord for
further information on the Gathering, on the purchase of land, and on other
aspects of the United Order of Enoch. The revelation he received in answer
advised those in Kirtland not to rush off to Zion, but to save their money so
that they could purchase land when they got there. The Prophet himself would
decide by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit who should go and who should
tarry. ¹ Gradually he made arrangements to set up a "temporary" branch of the
United Order in Ohio; "for I, the Lord, will to retain a strong hold in the
land of Kirtland, for the space of five years, in which I will not over
throw the wicked, that thereby I may save some." ² Till much later in his career
the Prophet never came closer than this to fixing the date of the Last Day.

This policy of indefinite delay was infinitely wiser than that of
another famous adventist, William Miller, who set a specific date in 1843 for
the Second Coming and who saw his church melt away (mostly into Shakerism) when
the Bridegroom failed to appear. But delay, if it prudently avoided the disas-
trous fate of Millerism, was not quite wise enough to prevent a serious falling
away in Kirtland. ³ Those who remained faithful to the church made consecrations
of property grudgingly or not at all. Why consecrate the wealth so painfully
wring from the sterile clays of Kirtland when the money went to strange Saints
happily plowing black loam ten feet deep in Zion? By retaining his ties, eco-
monic, personal, and religious, to the Land of Ohio the Prophet seemed to be

²D & C, 64: 21.
³Minutes of a conference held in Hiram, Ohio, Oct. 25-26, 1831, in the
"Far West Record," 12.
⁴Tbid., 17-13; D & C, 70: 14.
compromising the whole idea of a millennial utopia in the Land of Missouri.

Joseph was acutely aware of this dangerous interpretation, but he only made matters worse by moving, with Sidney Rigdon, into an adjacent county. The two leaders decided about this time to live in Hiram, Ohio, a few miles to the south. There they eagerly accepted the hospitality of the pious Johnson family, because the general fund of the church was too small to support them and their families.

To reassure fervent millennialists eager to gather unto Zion that the church would not remain in Ohio forever, he reemphasized the near advent of Christ and reasserted with great power the brimming joys and horrible punishments of the Second Coming. And to build up a spirit of self-sacrifice he encouraged a mass reaffirmation of faith in the doctrine of consecrations. At a conference held in October he heard Saint after Saint give public testimonies of their faith and desire to consecrate all their possessions to God. The Prophet himself stood up, and assuming a defensive attitude for perhaps the only time in his career, remarked that "he had nothing to consecrate to the Lord of the things of the earth, yet he felt to consecrate himself and family." He was thankful, the conference secretary recorded, "that God had given him a place among His Saints; he felt willing to labor for their good."

His arrangements for the United Order also seemed to point to a large-scale move to Zion. Titus Billings was to sell the farm of his brother-in-law, 

1History of the Church, I, 219; D & C, 71.
2D & C, 1; 63: 19-54; 65; 68: 12-133.
3Minutes of a conference held in Hiram, Ohio, Oct. 25-26, 1831, in the "Far West Record," 10-13. Such public testimonies of faith in the doctrine of consecration were also given at a large general conference held at the home of Brother Simeon Burnett in Orange township, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, on Oct. 25, 1831. Ibid., 12.
4Ibid., 13.
Isaac Morley, and bring the proceeds to Bishop Partridge. This marked the real end of Rigdon's erstwhile Family. Newel K. Whitney and Sidney Gilbert were not to sell their general store until all the Kirtland Saints had gone to Zion. In the meantime, Whitney could conduct the Kirtland store as an agency of the United Order and without the help of Gilbert. Any extra money Whitney made over and above his needs should go to Zion to help purchase land.

By these gestures the Prophet hoped to loosen the purse strings of the Kirtlanders and help them resign themselves to staying where they were. Independence, Missouri, was supposedly still preeminent, but to make it the Center Place of Zion the Prophet required the consecration of eastern energy and eastern money. For the moment the Kirtlanders were satisfied.

1D & C, 63: 39; 64: 20. Actually, the Prophet had decided this before receiving the revelation. A Mormon student who has examined the Geauga county records has noted that Edward Partridge and Isaac Morley gave Titus Billings power of attorney to sell this property by two instruments dated June 11 and July 16, 1831. The Prophet was travelling to Missouri between June 19 and about July 16 and did not return until late August. He probably commanded these transactions before he left. See R. Kent Fielding, "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland, Ohio," Utah Hist. Soc., XXVII (Oct., 1959), 333, note 5. It is interesting to note that Partridge, the bishop of the United Order, was also, with Morley, head of what was left of the Family.

2Professor R. Kent Fielding calls the decision to sell the Morley farm a step taken to "liquidate the possessions of the Ohio Saints ... in preparation for a general removal to Missouri." Fielding, "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland, Ohio," 333. But there is no real evidence that the Prophet ever intended to liquidate the Kirtland Stake. He never literally applied the revelations commanding all the Saints to move to Zion, and he himself resisted extraordinary pressures to go west until 1838. See above, 5. It was the physical basis of the Family that the Prophet wished to "liquidate."

Nor did the Prophet suddenly decide to stop the process of "liquidation" upon his return from Zion. The verse cited (D & C, 63: 21) for this by Professor Fielding applies merely to the farm of F. G. Williams. This verse also delays the Second Coming for five more years—one of the many stalling tactics used by the Prophet to remain in Kirtland. In fact, he ultimately left Kirtland only when forced to leave it: not five but seven years later.

3D & C, 53: 5th: 26. Section 63 is the last complete revelation in the Book of Commandments (1833) and thus the historian of the United Order must rely on the Doctrine and Covenants (1835 ff.) which contains later sections. Unfortunately, in the latter work the Prophet revised all references to the Order to accord with later circumstances. I have been careful to check these later revelations against other sources.
The Prophet was now free to begin applying the United Order revelation to the eastern Saints. To do this he began supplying concrete instructions for the assignment of inheritances, the collection of money, the management of the eastern branch of the Mercantile Establishment, the conduct of the Printing Concern, and various related matters.

A special conference held in Hiram, Ohio, on November 12, 1831 voted that the first inheritances to be distributed by Bishop Partridge in Zion should go to Joseph Smith, to the immediate members of his family, and to his chief assistants, that is, to his brothers (Hiram, Samuel, William, and Don Carlos), to the Whitmers (Peter, Peter Jr., Christian, Jacob, and David), and to Hiram Page. Sidney Rigdon, along with Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and the Prophet were all to have some share in the sale of sacred writings as part of their inheritances. Frederick G. Williams, a counselor to the Prophet, had already been provided for in a commandment permitting him to retain his farm of one hundred and forty acres in Kirtland—only because the Prophet needed a good-sized tract to lay out a city and provide a temple lot for this Stake of Zion. All these men, whether they lived in Zion or in Kirtland, were to account for their stewardships by returning excess profits to the Lord's Storehouse. In a separate revelation of March, 1832 the Lord promised to move the hearts of those who remained reluctant communists, especially those in the poverty-stricken western church.

In so far as these economic arrangements pertained to Kirtland they revealed the Prophet's desire to retain the eastern Stake of Zion for an indefinite period. To do so he had first managed to have the Second Coming deferred for five years. Then he had reassured the Kirtland Saints that they would

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1Minutes of a conference held on Nov. 12, 1831 in Hiram, Portage county, Ohio, in the "Far West Record," 18, 19, 22; D & C, 70; 72: 20-21.

2D & C, 64: 21.

3D & C, 78: 3-4, 9-10, 18.
still be able to gather unto Zion. And now it remained only to integrate Kirtland somehow with the United Order of Enoch—an institutional framework supposedly provided expressly for the Center Place in Missouri.

Accordingly he gave Kirtland its new, more imposing name: the "Land of Shinah." The Land of Shinah would pass away, but the stake organization devised for it became a regional unit of Mormon church government roughly analogous to the states of the American system of federalism. "Missions," like territories in the federal system both in structure and status, could become stakes when they contained a sufficient number of converts. Independence, Missouri, was a special district like Washington, D.C., but ultimate financial control lay with the Prophet in Ohio. The First Presidency (Joseph and two counselors) of the church could, like the president of the United States, call some other city home and even live there.

By the spring of 1832 this system of federal church government had become fully accepted among the Saints, for they now realized that the process of gathering the elect of the whole world, including the ten lost, fair-skinned tribes of Israel, who then lived in Northern Europe, would take a long time. In this newly developing polity Mormonism reflected not only the political structure of the United States, but also, in the evolution of mission-to-stake, the expansionist mentality of the age.

The framing of a new church polity to suit the continental—even global—mission of the church and the five-year respite from the Second Advent were only two aspects of a utopian community that was becoming imperial in

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3For other elaborations of polity at this time see also D & C, 68.

4D & C, 133: 7-10.
scale. The Prophet stressed this fact in giving his reasons for the adoption of stakes:

14. For Zion must increase in beauty, and in holiness; her borders must be enlarged; her stakes must be strengthened;
15. Therefore, I give unto you this commandment, /to enter the United Order of Enoch/ . . . .

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

17. And you are to be equal, or in other words, you are to have equal claims on the properties, for the benefit of managing the concerns of your stewardships, every man according to his wants and needs, inasmuch as his needs are just—
18. And all this for the benefit of the church of the living God, that every man may improve upon his talent, that every man may gain other talents, yea even an hundred fold, to be cast into the Lord's storehouse, to become the property of the whole church— . . . .

There was no need in the Prophet's mind to keep the community small. The bigger it was the more souls would be saved and the wealthier it would be.

In thus favoring the expansion of the United Order in Kirtland as well as in Independence the Prophet was creating a dual organization. Zion, run by Bishop Partridge, had the real prestige and she soon had most of the Saints. Kirtland had only the prestige and independence that came from the residence there of the First Presidency: Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams. The First Presidency controlled the bulk of the wealth of the church and regulated the emigration of Saints to Zion.

To handle all the temporal affairs of the Kirtland half of this east-west axis Joseph set up a second bishopric headed by Newel K. Whitney, the industrious merchant and zealous convert whom he had so overwhelmed upon their first meeting. As second bishop of the church Whitney performed in the east all the duties of Partridge in the west except that of dividing the inheritances. Inheritance could be received only in Zion from Bishop Partridge. Whitney's duty was to help build up Zion by collecting consecrations for it

\[1^\text{D & C, 82: 14-18.}\]
in the Kirtland Storehouse. No one could receive an inheritance in Zion and be accepted as a steward unless he carried with him a certificate of acceptability from Bishop Whitney or from three elders of the Kirtland Stake. This was supposed to prevent insincere propertyless converts from going to Zion to get a free farm. These arrangements entailed a large and frequent correspondence in which the two bishops discussed chiefly the consecration of property and, after 1838, the payment of tithes.

Whitney's former partner, Algernon Sidney Gilbert, had already become keeper of the Storehouse in Zion for Bishop Partridge and manager of the store, or Mercantile Establishment, in Independence. The Gilbert-Whitney partnership was now dissolved, and the store run by Whitney in Ohio became known to the world simply as N. K. Whitney and Company. These two stores, both of which were owned by the church as the Mercantile Establishment of the United Order and separately managed by Gilbert and Whitney, constituted the inheritances of the two men. Any surplus profits from their separate stewardships went to the church to be used for the benefit of all the Saints.

The Literary or Printing Concern of the United Order was also divided between east and west. W. W. Phelps bought a press in the fall of 1831 to print at Independence the first church newspaper, the first collection of revelations, and other church publications. Oliver Cowdery, assisted by John Whitmer, performed a similar function in the east and both were to act as literary liaison agents between east and west. In addition Whitmer was to

1D & C, 72.
2The original correspondence has apparently been lost. See Orson F. Whitney, "The Aaronic Priesthood," The Contributor, VI (Oct., 1884), p. 6, col. 2.
3D & C, 57: 6, 7; 61: 18; 70: 11; Orson F. Whitney, "The Aaronic Priesthood," The Contributor, VI, No. 4 (Jan., 1885), 128. After 1831 the Mercantile Establishment in Kirtland was often referred to as the "Committee's Store." Ibid., 129.
keep a watchful eye on the untrustworthy Cowdery. As their first assignment Cowdery and Whitmer were commanded to deliver to W. W. Phelps a manuscript copy of all the revelations received from God up to about October, 1831. This, the first collection of the Prophet's revelations, was finally published in 1833 as the Book of Commandments in an initial printing of ten thousand copies.

In giving this work to mankind the Prophet called it "a voice of warning . . . unto all people" and a key to "the mysteries of the kingdom." It was also the bible of a communitarian, millennial empire that was already mushrooming in all directions from its center in Independence and its epicenter in Kirtland.

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Despite the apathy of some eastern Saints and the apostasy of others the church finally seemed to be entering a period of peace. From November, 1831 to March, 1832 the Prophet quietly devoted himself to his revision of the Bible and to the elaboration of a new theology. He issued no new revelations on the United Order or Enoch until the spring of 1832, and when he did, he veiled the names of three of its officials with exotic titles: Joseph Smith was Oaselem or Enoch; Newel K. Whitney was Ahashdah; Sidney Rigdon was Pelagoram. Special names were common among communitarian societies, but rarely for this kind of camouflage. The Prophet apparently wished to keep their identities secret to allay any suspicion that he was working to amalgamate the economy of Zion with that of Kirtland. Too many Saints had objected, the previous fall,

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1 History of the Church, I, 234, note; D & C, 69: 1.

2 Minutes of a special conference at Hiram, Ohio, Nov. 1-3, 1831, in the "Far West Record," 16; History of the Church, I, 221, 229.

3 D & C, 1 (Nov. 1, 1831); History of the Church, I, 235. The Prophet received section 1 of the Doctrine and Covenants as a preface for the book.

to the retention of Kirtland as part of a two-headed United Order. The revelation commanded Smith, Whitney, and Rigdon to revisit Zion and to sit in council with the officials of the United Order in Zion.

This revelation came in March, 1832, and it would be a few weeks before spring would be advanced enough to permit easy travel to Missouri. But circumstances forced the Prophet and his companions to leave earlier than he had planned. On Saturday night, the twenty-fourth of March, an infuriated anti-Mormon mob of about thirty Campbellites, Methodists, and Baptists surrounded the house he occupied in Hiram, seized the Prophet in his bed, tore off his clothes, and beat, scratched, and tarred and feathered him. Rigdon they also abducted, dragging the older man by the heels so that he could not raise his head from the rough and frozen surface of the ground and in this fashion bashed and cut his head so that by the next morning—the Sabbath—he had fallen into a delirium. The Prophet, having spent the rest of the night being scraped and cleansed of the tar, strode into the Sabbath meeting, and though defaced and weak from lack of sleep, preached to his congregation as though nothing had happened.

Ohio was no more tolerant than New York, and Missouri, it seemed, offered some hope of real peace for the Prophet and his people. On the first of April the Prophet, Rigdon, and their party, still molested by the mob, left for Zion, and were not out of danger till they had boarded a river packet in Cincinnati. Accompanying the Prophet and Rigdon were Newel K. Whitney, Peter Whitmer, and a mysterious newcomer to Mormonism named Jesse Causse.

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1*History of the Church*, I, 265; *Observer and Telegram*, Apr. 5, 1832. See also Reynolds Cahoon's Journal, cited in the *Journal History*, Mar. 29, 1832.
CHAPTER V

THE IMPERIAL COMMUNITY

Beyond the Mississippi rolling flood,
A land before ordained by Israel's God!
Where Zion's city shall in grandeur rise,
And fill the wondering nations with surprise.
From north, and south, and east behold they come
By tens of thousands to their destined home!

—Parley P. Pratt, The Millennium
and Other Poems

The city of Zion spoken of by David, in the one hundred and second
Psalm, will be built upon the land of America.

—Joseph Smith, 1833

The hermit thrush is a common bird. But he is hard to see as he flits,
at dawn and twilight, past the shadowed understory trees; and his quick flight
leaves no track in the thin and quiet air. For one who would learn his ways
the eye must yield to the ear. For soon enough he stops; and perching close
by—one knows not where—he reappears as a voice, piercing the air more sharply
than did his wings and sending forth from some secret place the most elegantly
distinctive music of the American woods.

No cabin in the countless clearings that dotted the forests of northern
Ohio in the early nineteenth century lacked for his melancholy song. His
retiring habits, his hidden home, and his trackless flight were in fact not
very different from those of the scattered cabin-dwellers who listened;
inquiry into his life and movements is hard and sometimes fruitless. And yet,
he always reminds the watcher of his presence.

Like a million or more other Americans of his era, Jesse Gause had ample
opportunity to hear the hermit's song. And like them he left little or no
trace of his hopes and strivings as he roamed through village and woods from Massachusetts to Missouri—always seeking ultimates.

For a short but critical period in early Mormon history Jesse Gause played a key role in directing the fate of Mormon communitarian institutions. How he acquired his sudden influence with the Prophet is a mystery. But surely one main explanation for his appearance as a communitarian adviser is his former religious affiliation. Gause had been a Shaker—and this is one of the few facts of his life that has survived. He and several members of his family had belonged since 1829 to the Shaker community of Hancock, near Pittsfield, and probably to North Union as well. It is possible that Reynolds Cahoon, a leading Mormon elder and a former Shaker, converted Gause to Mormonism along with Leman Copley in late 1830.

By the spring of 1832, when the Prophet took him along to Missouri, Gause had already attained the high priesthood of Mormonism. And in accompanying the Prophet he was taking the place of Frederick G. Williams, who with Rigdon was one of the Prophet’s two counselors. From this we may conclude that the Prophet had an important task in mind for Gause. Gause, indeed, would be the last Shaker to exercise any influence on early Mormonism.

* * *

The Prophet and his three companions, Whitney, Rigdon, and Gause, reached Independence on April 24, 1832 and were welcomed with open arms by all

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1See the letter of Matthew Houston to Seth I. Wells, North Union, Aug. 10, 1832, WHRS. Parts of this letter were printed with extensive “literary” mutilation of the text in Mrs. Caroline Piercy's untrustworthy history of North Union, the Valley of God's Pleasure, 93-94.

2Dr. Edward Deming Andrews suspects that Cahoon was either the brother or husband of Hannah Cahoon (b. Feb. 1, 1788), who, according to a Shaker manuscript in the Andrews collection, joined the Shakers at Hancock, Mass., on Mar. 19, 1817.

3D & C, 61: 21; 81: 1; 90: 6, 19; 92. Williams had not yet been admitted to the United Order of Enoch at this time.
the Saints. On April 26 Joseph called a general council of the church at which he tried, with some success, to settle the sharp differences which he himself had created by his ill-considered demand for travel expenses the year before.

In the eyes of men like Edward Partridge that demand for money had seemed an unwarranted raid on the Lord's Storehouse. Partridge himself had finally reconciled himself to the propriety of the Prophet's demand. But over the winter discontent over this and other United Order issues had become so pronounced that Bishop Partridge's two counselors, John Corrill and Isaac Morley, turned against their gentle and innocent superior and brought before the council several unfair charges against him. The Prophet must have known the flimsiness of such charges, but by permitting the blame to rest on Partridge he could fend off any criticism of himself.

The chief charge was Partridge's release of consecrated money for the Prophet's canoes and stagecoach fare the previous August. Partridge defended his action as a proper use of United Order money, a use made with no intention to defraud. The council forgave him for a sin he did not commit and confirmed him in office. An emotional reconciliation followed and the Prophet was quite moved by the scene:

The right hand of fellowship I wrote was given to me by the Bishop, Edward Partridge, in behalf of the Church. The scene was solemn, impressive and delightful. During the intermission, a difficulty or hardness which had existed between Bishop Partridge and Elder Rigdon was amicably settled.1

It was at this council that Joseph announced that the Lord had chosen

1"Far West Record," 27-28.

2"History of the Church, I, 267. See also the council minutes in the "Far West Record," 25. Curiously, after his return to Ohio the Prophet spoke not of joy and fellowship but of the need to upbraid the Saints in Zion for some hostility they had shown against some missionaries in April, 1832. See D & C, 6:1; 71.
to make Kirtland a "stake to Zion" (more independent than the former "stake of Zion") and the second bishopric of the church. The double bishopric was a Shaker idea and doubtless came from Gause. But even more important than this new dual organization was the announcement that the two United Order bishoprics, that of Zion and that of Kirtland, were to be administered as a single economic unit to be called the United Firm.

The United Firm is not to be identified with the United Order. The United Firm merely affected that part of the Order known as the Mercantile Establishment, or retail store. There were two of these stores at the time Gause visited Zion, one headed by A. S. Gilbert in Missouri and the other conducted by N. K. Whitney in Ohio. The stores did the bulk of the church's buying and selling and it was entirely logical that they should be amalgamated.

Whether the suggestion for this consolidation came from Gause is not certain. But it would have come, anyhow. The Prophet could accept the administrative but not the financial duality of two bishoprics. In financial more than administrative matters the Prophet always tried to have the last word, and in this case the best way to get it was to unite the two stores and control income and expenditure from Ohio. This he started to do almost immediately through N. K. Whitney's store in Kirtland, which was known to the world as Newel K. Whitney and Company. He assured eastern control of the United Firm by appointing a central board dominated by Kirtlanders. The dual bishopric remained, each bishopric retaining considerable autonomy. But through the United Firm Kirtland became the financial capital of the church—the tail in Ohio was wagging the dog in Missouri.

The United Firm represented what economists call the rationalization of economic organization. In thus making the United Order a more rational,

1R. Kent Fielding does this in his "Mormon Economy in Kirtland," 335.
flexible economic instrument the Prophet was moving away from the nonacquisitive spirit of the Order. With the United Firm’s new emphasis on capital improvements and efficiency the Order became less and less an instrument for the purchase and equal distribution of inheritances.

To camouflage these dubious changes in the United Order the Prophet set up a smokescreen of exotic names for the new officials of the United Firm and for the Stake of Zion. He had already emphasized the new dignity of Kirtland by christening it the "Land of Shenehah"; and now, presumably that their secret titles might conform to the new duality between east and west, leading United Order officials had not one cover name but two: Sidney Rigdon was Mahaleel and Pelagoram; Oliver Cowdery heard himself addressed as Horah and Olibah; Martin Harris became both Shalemanasseh and Mahemson; and Joseph himself retained his two names of Gazelam and Enoch. As co-directors of a single firm the two bishops had to rest content with one title apiece: Ahashdah for Newel K. Whitney and Alam for Edward Partridge. Of these men the Lord appointed the first five—all Kirtlanders—as a single board to manage all the affairs of the dual bishopric "both in the land of Zion and in the land of Shenehah."

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1 D & C, 62 (April 26, 1832); History of the Church, I, 363. Mrs. Fawn Brodie has maintained that Joseph dissolved the United Order in 1834 and that by a special revelation (D & C, 104) he parcelled out the property of the church to prominent Saints. Then in 1835, when time came to print this semi-secret revelation in the Doctrine and Covenants, he substituted fictitious names to avoid any unpleasantness. See Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 111.

Since the original text of these revelations is not available this is only a guess—a very good guess. But it raises the question of why, in 1835, he went all the way back to his revelation of April, 1832 (D & C, 62) in substituting names. There is no doubt that he wished to avoid unpleasantness in 1834, but there was a good deal of unpleasantness in United Order affairs as early as 1831 and 1832. (Cf. D & C, 78.)

As I have suggested above (chap. iv, p. 148), the Prophet used fictitious names to veil his plans for the aggrandizement of Kirtland at the expense of Zion.

2 D & C, 62: 12. The Prophet never made clear who the rulers of Zion were. If members of two related bodies in Zion are counted, the governing
Naturally, so important a new institution as the United Firm not only affected the spirit of the United Order but the very structure of the whole church. The five members of the central board of the United Firm held important offices in the United Order and in the church as a whole. Some leaders like Sidney Rigdon could hold offices in all three organizations—the Firm, the Order, and the church—but only the Prophet enjoyed the fulness of power in all three. Joseph, as Prophet, Seer, and Revelator, as Gazelam and Enoch, as Baurak Ale and First President, and as a direct blood descendant of Aaron of old, could take upon himself any office commanded by the Lord.

Because of this overlapping of personnel in important offices the historian is tempted to lump together all three administrative units—the Firm, the Order, and the church—as one organization. But this would obscure the ambivalent attitude of the Prophet toward his Order; if he had really wished to make the Order as central as God had commanded he would have prevented the overlapping. Moreover, if the historian did not differentiate among the three organizations he would obscure the fundamental truth that Mormon church government arose out of its communitarian United Order of Enoch.

board would include Edward Partridge (the Bishop of Zion); his two counselors, Isaac Morley and John Corrill; Sidney Gilbert; and John Whitmer. Partridge, Morley, and Corrill made up the bishopric of Zion and worked with Gilbert, who ran the Mercantile Establishment. All four of these men were also members of the Council of Seven High Priests in Zion, which included W. W. Phelps. This would make a total of ten men. See the History of the Church, I, 335; D & C, 57; Times and Seasons, V, 850; and John Corrill, Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (St. Louis, 1839), 17-18.

1Thus, of the five exotically named members of the central board of the United Firm Rigdon was an official in the Kirtland bishopric as well as a counselor to the Prophet; Whitney was head of the Kirtland bishopric and a member of the central committee; Cowdery was a high official in the church and shared the stewardship over the Printing Concern with P. C. Williams and W. W. Phelps; and finally, the highly placed Harris, who had helped finance the translation of the Book of Mormon and who had been one of the “Three Witnesses” of that book was also Joseph’s adviser for land purchases in the Kirtland bishopric.

It is worth noting that the Shakers also had Three Witnesses (Ann Lee, William Lee, and James Whitaker) at the beginning of their movement, but I do not believe that Joseph Smith got his idea from the Shakers.
From the early communitarian phase of Mormonism (1830-1834) came two of the most important institutions of modern Mormon church government: the office of bishop and the territorial division known as the "stake."

The bishop eventually lost his position as a key general officer of the church, but he became, in a sense, even more influential as the most important of local Mormon officials—a parish factotum running the church at the grass roots. He became the leader of each Mormon "ward" or congregation.

The stake, the next territorial division above the ward in modern Mormonism, is also a fruit of early Mormon communitarianism; for it arose out of the dual bishoppic. The first stake was the Stake of Zion (Kirtland). After 1834 other stakes were added to form a federal system of government. The stake system eventually came to resemble the state system of the United States, but at first it was purely religious and communitarian in spirit.

If one stops the evolution of Mormon church government at the introduction of the second bishoppic (or stake) in 1832, a resemblance to the church government of the Shakers emerges that is too remarkable to be coincidental. For the Shakers also divided their far-flung communities into an eastern and a western bishoppic. The Shaker community of Union Village in southern Ohio administered all the other western communities and the Shakers of New Lebanon headed all the eastern communities. As in the Mormon system, the western Shaker bishoppic looked to the east for advice and leadership. As their settlements grew in number, both Shakers and Mormons subdivided the two east-west bishoppics into several more or less independent bishoppics. Neither the Mormons nor the Shakers ever specifically defined the jurisdiction of their bishoppics, and in neither instance did the bishoppics ever have a territorial boundary like the Episcopal diocese. This uncertainty concerning the limits of power led both Mormons and Shakers to abandon the bishoppic as a governmental unit by the middle of the nineteenth century. In both systems of
bishoprics the words of the leaders of the whole movement were final.  

The bishopric system was unique to the Mormons and the Shakers and this would almost be enough to establish an influence. But it so happens that when Joseph Smith left on his second trip to Zion with the “mobocracy” of Hiram on his heels, he took with him as his advisers three men: Sidney Rigdon, one of his two counselors, Newell K. Whitney, the new bishop at Kirtland, and Jesse Gause, the former Shaker. Gause, as we have noted, took the place of Smith’s second counselor, Frederick G. Williams. Gause may not have suggested the consolidation represented by the United Firm, but he doubtless had a hand in suggesting the Shaker-like dual bishopric and in helping, as soon appeared, to set up the United Firm and to reorganize the Literary Firm.

Gause was no passive travelling companion of Smith. Though he never on any other occasion rose to prominence in Mormon history, and though he later apostatized, he had the honor at the council held in Zion of “acknowledging” (seconding) the Prophet’s newly acquired dignity as President of the High Priesthood. By virtue of this office the Prophet headed the five-man board which would, in effect, rule the two bishoprics of the United Order as one “United Firm.” And, what is more important, Gause seems to have acted as the Prophet’s adviser in all communitarian matters during their visit to Zion. Gause participated with the Prophet in the special councils of the United Order and he was officially listed as “Counselor to the President” in the two most important meetings held by the Prophet in Zion: that on the Literary Firm and that on

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1Joseph Smith, of course, wielded enormous power, both spiritual and administrative, over his bishoprics. Mother Ann Lee, the foundress of Shakerism, had comparable powers, but died in 1784, about twenty-five years before the introduction of independent Shaker communities in the West, and her power was mainly spiritual. But the authority of Mother Ann’s successor, Father Joseph Meacham (who shared his power with Lucy Wright), was supreme. And after Meacham’s death Mother Lucy Wright’s prestige was so high that her decisions in such matters as the publication of official Shaker doctrine were final.

2History of the Church, I, 267; “Far West Record,” 25-27.
the United Firm.

* * *

The twelve days that Gause spent with the Prophet before the latter returned to Kirtland were devoted almost entirely to the affairs of the United Order of Enoch and may be counted as the most important period in the history of the Order in Missouri. They saw the foundation laid for the self-sufficient prosperity of the Saints in Zion and the expansion of church government to assure the proper use of that prosperity. The Prophet felt that the quarrels among the Saints had been settled and that the way was now open for the unlimited enlargement of Zion.

Even before leaving Ohio Joseph had determined to make his church economically independent from "the world"; and he was only strengthened in his resolve when, just before he left, reports came to him from Bishop Partridge and others describing the rise of a spirit of anti-Mormon persecution. Joseph wanted to organize the Saints, he declared, so that they "might eventually be independent of every encumbrance beneath the celestial kingdom, by bonds and covenants of mutual friendship and mutual love."  

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1 See the "Minutes of a council of the Literary Firm, Zion, April 30, 1832" and "Minutes of a meeting of the United Firm" [May 1, 1832] in the "Far West Record," 31-32. Besides Gause and the Prophet, the United Order officials attending the first meeting were Sidney Rigdon, John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, and W. W. Phelps. The minutes of the second meeting listed the following participants:

"Joseph Smith, Jr., President of Conference and also of the High Priesthood.
Oliver Cowdery, Clerk of the Conference and printer to the Church
Edward Partridge, Bishop
Newel K. Whitney, Bishop of Kirtland
Sidney Gilbert, Agent in Zion
Sidney Rigdon, Counselor of the President
John Whitmer, Lord's Clerk
William W. Phelps, printer to the Church
Jesse Gause, Counselor to the President (denied the faith)."

The last three words in parentheses were added later.

2 D & C, 78: 9-11h. 3 History of the Church, I, 269.
Aided by Jesse Gause and Sidney Rigdon, the Prophet accomplished most of this work in various meetings and councils held in Missouri between April 26 and May 1, 1831, and had to resort to only two revelations. The first revelation was a general reaffirmation of the importance of the United Order. It also formally announced the new status of Kirtland as almost co-equal with the City of Zion and appointed the members of the new five-man governing board of the United Firm. And it warned that those Saints who hardened their hearts against the Order "shall be delivered over to the buffetings of Satan until the day of redemption."  

The second revelation took up the special problem of the status of women and children in the United Order. Mormon women and children were often the innocent victims of a missionary system which kept large numbers of elders away from home for long periods of time, leaving families to scrape up a living where they could. Not all husbands were provident enough to plant a crop of wheat and potatoes before leaving. And not all elders had land enough to plow.

A few elders had received an inheritance, or farm, as members of the United Order, but should such husbands die on missions, the wives had no legal right to the land. As a result, a question arose concerning the right of wives to accede to the inheritance. To solve this problem the second revelation announced that women and children could remain living on the inheritance of a deceased husband. Moreover, said the Lord, women and children, whether they owned such an inheritance or not, had every claim for maintenance upon their husbands and fathers, some of whom had taken too literally the injunction to consider the lilies of the field which toil not, neither do they spin.  

The following account of the elaboration of the United Order is based mainly on the minutes of these councils as recorded in the "Far West Record," 25–34, and the History of the Church, I, 269–270.

2D & C, 82.  
3See D & C, 75: 29; 81: 78–81; 118: 3.
the wife or any minor children or orphans had insufficient means of support, the bishop would provide for them from consecrations kept in the Lord's Storehouse.

Having cared for the widows and orphans, the Prophet paid a visit to his beloved Colesville Saints, who were then living as a United Order community a few miles west of Independence. After spending two joyful days with the Colesville Saints, he began an intensive round of United Order council meetings. Most of his efforts were directed toward the unification, through the United Firm, of all the business of the two bishoprics into one big United Order.

There was no need to amalgamate the two Storehouses, for the Storehouse in Kirtland was supposed to be only a depository of money and property destined for the Storehouse in Zion. But there was a need to establish close ties between the two retail stores, or Mercantile Establishments, headed respectively in west and east by the two former business partners, Whitney and Gilbert. As we have seen, the Prophet called this new central agency the United Firm; but to the gentile world the two stores continued to be known separately as "Gilbert, Whitney and Company" in Zion and as "Newel K. Whitney and Company" in Kirtland. At a two-day conference, which began on April 26 and in which Jesse Gause played a prominent part, W. W. Phelps and A. S. Gilbert were appointed to draft the bond for effecting a merger of the two Mercantile Establishments.

The United Firm held its first council meetings on April 30 and May 1, 1832. After hearing the Lord reassert, through the mouth of his Prophet, the right of women and children to acceed to the inheritance of a deceased steward

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1 D & C, 82: 11-13 (Apr. 26, 1832). The Prophet had already announced this new policy of centralization in the first two revelations issued in Missouri.

and their right to be provided for out of the Lord's Storehouse, the council
went on to draw up a series of resolutions for the government of the United
Firm.

The most important of these resolutions suggested that a special agency
be set up to unite the efforts of the eastern and western Mercantile Establish-
ments. This was the United Firm. The two Establishments (stores) would jointly
administer this United Firm under the leadership of the five-man board of the
Firm. Since the Saints were rapidly increasing in number and spreading out
over the counties around Independence and Kirtland, each of the stores was to
establish branch stores in Missouri and Ohio, respectively, for the benefit of
outlying Saints.

The first concrete goal of the United Firm was the loan of fifteen
thousand dollars for five years or longer "at six percent annually or semi-
annually as the agreement can be made." The council of the United Firm appointed
Newel K. Whitney and Company to negotiate the loan. Presumably the Firm needed
this large sum to subsidize the branch stores and to help Bishop Partridge buy
inheritances for the multiplying membership of the church.¹

The plan to have the Kirtland branch of the Order borrow money for the
United Firm was entirely logical; for the Prophet and most of the leading offi-
cers of the United Firm still lived in Ohio, and the sources of capital for
large-scale investment lay in Albany and New York City. Moreover, Joseph had
already borrowed $10,000 from a gentile in Kirtland. These considerations
threw the balance of economic power to the east.

But in the Literary or Printing Firm the balance of power still lay in

¹D & C, 83; History of the Church, I, 269-270; "Minutes of a meeting
of the United Firm" May 1, 1832/, in the "Far West Record," 32; "Mawell
Knight's Journal," Scraps of Biography, 73.

²See F. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 116 and note. The loan
was made in October, 1831.
the west. And since the work of printing and publishing was already being carried out jointly between east and west, there was no need for the council to spend much time on literary matters. When members of the separate council of the Literary Firm met on April 30 those participating were Smith, Rigdon, Cause, and the three heads of the Firm, namely Cowdery, Phelps, and John Whitmer. The meeting voted to have the latter three men review the manuscript of the Book of Commandments (revelations given to Joseph) and "select for printing such as shall be deemed by them proper, as dictated by the Spirit and make all necessary verbal corrections." Until they were printed no Saint was permitted to see a manuscript revelation unless he were directly affected by it. The council also annulled a previous order to print ten thousand copies and reduced the number to three thousand, very likely because they found it very expensive to transport paper and other supplies all the way from Wheeling, West Virginia, to a wild area well over nine hundred miles away where the only operating press belonged to the Mormons. Furthermore, the Printing Firm had to reserve much of the paper already in Missouri for two other church publications: a selection of hymns compiled by the Prophet's wife (in fulfillment of a revelation), and the first church newspaper, the *Evening and Morning Star*.

As he made ready to leave, the Prophet apparently instructed Cause to remain long enough to assist in dedicating the nearly completed printer's building. Cause himself, before leaving for Kirtland in late July, took part in at least two other important meetings. First, on May 26, he joined seven

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1 *History of the Church, I, 217, 266, 270; "Minutes of a council of the Literary Firm, Zion, April 30, 1832," in the "Far West Record," 31.*

2 *Journal History, Aug. 1, 1832; "Minutes of a conference held at the office of the Evening and Morning Star on Thursday, 29th day of May, 1832, for the purpose of dedication to the Lord in conformity to certain revelations given concerning the Printing Establishment," in the "Far West Record," 33-34. Present at this conference were high priests Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley, John Corrill, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, William W. Phelps, Harvey Whitlock, Jesse Cause, Sidney Gilbert, and elders Calvin Beebe, Selah J. Griffin, and Peter Dustin.*
other United Order leaders in a most unusual conference held "to take into consideration a certain transgression of our Brother Oliver committed in the fall of 1830." Then, on May 29, he represented the Prophet at the dedication of the newly completed building of the Printing Establishment.  

Having completed his reorganization of the United Order, the Prophet once more turned his face towards Ohio. The joyful restoration of harmony and peace with which he opened his second visit to Zion lasted less than a week. The reconciliation of Rigdon and Partridge would last, but the United Firm, which appeared to have jurisdiction over the Printing Firm as well as the Mercantile Establishment, was a new source of discontent.

Two leaders of the Order, A. S. Gilbert and W. W. Phelps, were especially disgusted with the Prophet's whirlwind centralization of the United Order of Enoch. They considered the new status of Kirtland a violation of the letter and spirit of the law locating both the City of Zion and the United Order in Missouri; and they felt that the Prophet was reaching for "monarchical power" through the United Firm.

Having left Gause behind to take care of any remaining details, the

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1See the "Minutes of a conference held in Zion, May 26, 1832, at the house of Brother Sidney Gilbert" and the "Minutes of a conference held in the office of the Morning and Evening Star on Thursday, 27th of May, 1832, for the purpose of dedication to the Lord in conformity to certain revelations given concerning the Printing Establishment," in the "Far West Record," 32-34.

Those attending the first meeting were the high priests Edward Partridge, John Corrill, William W. Phelps, Jesse Gause, Isaac Morley, Sidney Gilbert; and two elders: Titus Billings and Calvin Beebe. Oliver Cowdery committed his "transgression" in the township of Mayfield, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, but what it was I have never been able to determine. He apparently did not choose to confess his sin until now, and his case was taken up again because "some elders supposed that the affair had been adjusted last year when Brother Oliver made his confession to the individuals injured and received their forgiveness." Cowdery was on his way to North Union at the time.

Present at the second meeting were high priests Partridge, Morley, Corrill, Cowdery, John Whitmer, Phelps, Harvey Whitlock, Jesse Gause, and Sidney Gilbert, and elders Calvin Beebe, Selah J. Griffin, and Peter Duffin.

2History of the Church, I, 316-321.
Prophet departed for Kirtland on May 6, 1832. A year before, on his first return trip from Zion, Joseph and his party had had a frightening experience. As their canoes reached a dangerous bend in the Missouri river, the Destroyer, Satan himself, sought to drown them, forcing the leaders of the party, Joseph, Rigdon, and Cowdery, to resume their journey by land. This time the Prophet, accompanied by Rigdon and Whitney, left Independence by stagecoach. And this time no one complained of the extra expense.

Cause remained in Missouri for another six weeks, and did not get back to Ohio until the first week in August. His first stop was not Kirtland, but the Shaker community of North Union. At this place elder Matthew Houston was busy repairing the damage wrought by Ashbel Kitchell, and there was little chance of Cause's preaching there, let alone his making any converts. By this time most, if not all, the converts to Mormonism had been made. Cause had a personal mission to perform at North Union: his wife was still living there and he wanted to get her out. In his attempt to do so he met a humiliating rebuff.

Writing to his friend Seth Y. Wells, a member of the leading ministry at the bishopric of New Lebanon, Shaker elder Matthew Houston described Mrs. Cause's victory over "lust" with exquisite pleasure:

And sure enough I presume you was acquainted with Jesse Cause from Hancock he was here a few days since after his wife Minerva—she utterly refused being his slave any longer—he had to go away without her. altho he tryed what the law could do for him he was very much iraged—threatened to take away Minerva's child—she presented it to him but he went away without it & her—he is yet a Mormon—and is second to the Prophet or Seer—Joseph Smith—this state of exaltation may tend to steady him or keep him away from us a little longer—for which I am heartily glad for he is certainly the meanest of men.—

But Minerva certainly conducts herself cleverly so far We find no fault with her—at any rate she cut off Old Jesse verry handsomely—and he felt it to his gizzard.1

The Roman goddess of swordsmen and slaves must have smiled at this, her

1 Houston to Wells, North Union, Aug. 10, 1832, WHRS.
namesake's, deadly thrusts. But Old Jesse could find solace among his newer gods.

The extraordinary statement of Houston's that Gause was second to the Seer can only be counted, in the absence of further evidence, as an exaggeration. But the exaggeration is slight. The incontestable fact is that Gause held a position of considerable power at a period of Mormon history that was pervaded by the influence of Shakerism and dominated by the communitarian United Order of Enoch. Long unknown, Gause was a founder of Mormonism.

* * *

Within a few weeks of his defeat at North Union Gause disappeared from the stage of Mormon history as suddenly and inexplicably as he had entered it. Before his trail petered out somewhere in the sectarian thicket of his age, it wound its way through two other utopian clearings, Thompson, Ohio, and Economy, Pennsylvania.

From North Union the road—what there was of one in 1832—led through Kirtland to Thompson. Stopping in Kirtland, doubtless to report to the Prophet, Gause apparently received an assignment to go on a mission to certain other utopian communities in the company of Zebedee Coltrin, an important elder then living in Kirtland. Their first stop was the farm of Gause's friend Leman Copley at Thompson, the late scene of an unsuccessful United Order community. Copley's farm was a kind of base camp for the missionary operations of Gause and Coltrin at this time. Gause's last stop on this particular missionary tour was the Rappite community of Economy, near Pittsburgh, where on August 16 Gause had the unusual privilege of preaching to the followers of "Vater" George Rapp.

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2Ibid., 29 et passim.  

3Journal History, Aug. 1, 1832.
It may be that Gause, whose name sounds more German than Yankee, was fluent in the language of the Rappites. Or perhaps he was aware, as a former Shaker, of the close relations between the Rappites and the Shakers, and wished to trade on common ideals. Whatever his qualifications or motives, the results of his preaching at Economy are not clear. But two things are certain: that the connection between the Rappites and the Mormons goes back to about this time; and that Gause arrived at a time of disastrous apostasy at Economy. Several apostates joined the Mormons, some in 1832 and some later.

The crisis that rocked Economy in 1832 and that indirectly benefitted the Mormons had its origins in a schism that began in the fall of 1831. At this time, it will be recalled, the Shakers of North Union were rising up in protest against the willful ways of Ashbel Kitchell. And a few miles up the road from the Shaker community the Rigdonites were experiencing even greater internal dissension; for the Mormon "Heralds" to the Western Lamanites were tearing apart Sidney Rigdon's Family at Kirtland, with their exciting stories of a Golden Bible. To complete the chain of obscure but related religious disturbances, Joseph Smith, having just been cast out of his father-in-law's Pennsylvania home, was back in New York state. Here he found conditions even more unfavorable to his ideas and was seeking an open door to the West in order to escape the mounting spirit of persecution all about him. These widely separated intramural squabbles all came to focus in the Western

1Mormon council minutes invariably spelled his name Gaus.

2An example of their friendly contact in 1829 may be found in an exchange of information on the legal problem of suits for the recovery of consecrated property by apostates. One such exchange took place between Francis Voris, presiding elder of the Shaker community of Pleasant Hill, Ky., and Frederick Rapp, trustee at Economy. See Voris to Rapp, Pleasant Hill, Feb. 26, 1829; and R. L. Baker to Rapp, Economy, Mar. 13, 1829, Harmony Society Archives.
Reserve of northern Ohio in 1830-31. A few Rappites had joined the Mormons before 1832, but it was only after this date that Economy lost its largest number of members.

The man who caused the Rappite schism was a rival German prophet named Bernhard Mueller, self-styled Count Maximilian de Leon, the Lion of Judah, who arrived at Economy in the fall of 1831. The Count preached mainly his own prophetic superiority to "Vater" Rapp and the permissibility of marriage. His doctrines appealed to Rappites of all ages, but the second doctrine was especially attractive to many young persons who had already been apostatizing—"going off to copulate," as the assistant trustee at Economy liked to say.

By 1833 many of the Count's Rappite followers became disillusioned with him and in 1836 these former Rappites went over to still another German prophet named Wilhelm Keil. Keil soon went west, where he founded the very successful utopian communities of Bethel, in Missouri, and Aurora, in Oregon.

The most important of the earlier Rappite apostates was one John Zundel, a member of one of the most numerous and influential of Rappite families. John became a Mormon about 1832, possibly at the hands of Jesse Gause. John then tried to convert his younger brother Jacob, but without success. Jacob was apparently interested in doctrine as much as in marital rites; for when Count de Leon arrived, Jacob thought he saw a greater truth than "Vater" Rapp's and transferred his allegiance, along with that of his family, to the Count. He soon left the Count and about 1836 became a Mormon.

Jacob's conversion to Mormonism may be attributed to a wave of Mormon evangelism that began in the vicinity of Economy about 1835. Nearby Beaver county, where the young Rigdon had studied theology, was early a center of Mormon evangelism in western Pennsylvania. By about 1835 a small Mormon church had been established there by a famous missionary named Orson Pratt. This church was headed by Dr. Sampson Avar, who was to become prominent among the
Mormons as the organizer of the "Danites," a group of bodyguards for the Prophet. In 1837 another prominent Mormon—and a former Shaker—Gladden Bishop, spent much of his time preaching there. When one of the many Mormon missionaries came to preach there in 1836 at least one of the former followers of Count de Leon, Jacob Zundel, embraced the new gospel.

Jacob Zundel, who had rejected Mormonism in 1831 or 1832, when his brother John preached it to him, now went directly to Kirtland to look over the church he had joined. This visit only strengthened him in his new faith, and he soon returned to Economy and tried to convert the whole Rappite body. Zundel was unsuccessful in this attempt, but "Vater" Rapp was later sympathetic enough to the Mormon cause to send some money to the Prophet to aid the Mormon poor.

There were other Rappites who became Mormons, but little more can be said of Mormon-Rappite relations than what has just been recounted. The conversion of Jacob Zundel in 1836 marked the climax of a long-standing series of Mormon-Rappite contacts that had begun in 1832 and that had existed as early as 1831. The conversion of the Zundels and several other Rappites to Mormonism has been known for some time and has formed the sole basis for the theory that Sidney Rigdon "modelled" his Family—and indirectly Smith's United Order—on the Rappite community of Economy. But this theory is a groundless extrapolation, and even the new evidence, just presented, of Gause's contact with the Rappites, makes it no stronger. Doubtless Sidney Rigdon knew and admired the Rappite communities of Harmony and Economy before his conversion to Mormonism, but the United Order of Enoch arose out of the Rigdonite Family at Kirtland. And Rigdon's Family was, in turn, merely a Shaker Family writ large.

1For the opinion that Rigdon modelled Mormon communitarianism on that of the Rappites see Karl J. Arndt, "The Harmonists and the Mormons," 6-7.

2See above, chap. 11, pp. 55-56.
In the history of the Zundel family, in the career of Jesse Gause, in the "Count Leon Revolution" (as the Rappites came to call it), and in the arrival of Wilhelm Keil from Germany one may trace that complicated and obscure interchange of persons and ideas within the communitarian world which, though long accepted as part of communitarian history, has too often ignored the persons and ideas of the Mormons. And to ignore the important role of the Mormons in the larger communitarian world is to misunderstand the history of communitarianism—and of Mormonism.

* * *

By the time Jesse Gause had disappeared from the scene late in 1832, Mormon communitarianism was successful and strongly established in the minds and hearts of the Saints. Its doctrines began to harden in forms peculiar to itself, and it is instructive to observe the interplay between these Mormon communitarian doctrines and the secular American concepts of capitalism, land tenure, and the West in the 1830's.

Communitarianism was the most effective technique of colonization known to the American West and the Mormons were the most effective colonizers in American history. Mormon communitarianism, especially in the imperial phase it was about to enter in the summer of 1832, met the challenge of secular American values quite successfully, but not before it almost foundered on the question of land tenure.

The prevailing custom of fee-simple land-ownership did not accord with the Mormon communitarian ideal of more or less equal-sized farms owned and distributed by the church. As a result, the question of land tenure became the first and most pressing problem facing the church. And like most problems in Zion it came to rest on the uncomplaining shoulders of Bishop Edward Partridge.

Out in the Land of Missouri the visit of Gause, Rigdon, and the Prophet in April, 1832 had done little to ease the tasks of Bishop Partridge. Cordial
relations had been established between Zion and the new stake of Kirtland. But now that the bishopric in Ohio was acting as a clearinghouse for those Saints who wanted to consecrate their property in Ohio and then settle in Missouri, there was a steady increase in the number of Saints arriving from the east. Since these easterners came to Zion in the confident expectation of receiving their millennial inheritance, Bishop Partridge faced the problem of how to secure their lands to them according to law.

As originally revealed the law of the Lord had read: "thou shalt consecrate all thy properties ... with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken." The law of the Lord provided for two steps: consecration and stewardship. After consecrating all his property the donor received back, as a steward, only as much land or other property as he needed. The original revelation was vague concerning this second step. On what legal basis did the steward hold his property? A supplementary revelation given a little later stated only that he was to be appointed to his stewardship by "a writing that shall secure unto him his portion ... according to the laws of the land."

Bishop Partridge had two separate forms printed for the two separate steps. Exactly what legal status these two forms could claim was not clear for the simple reason that neither the Mormon "law of the Lord" nor the American "law of the land" were clear. Both corporate law and the law of trusteeship (as applied to religious bodies) were still in their infancy. The Shakers, the Rappites, and other communitarians had appointed legal trustees long before Joseph Smith, but despite considerable experience in handling common property they were plagued by many suits for the recovery of consecrations. A few of these suits were successful and they continued to be initiated well into the nineteenth century. In the 1820's and 1830's, before well-known precedents had been set for such suits, utopian communities even went so far as to consult with one another on their legal problems. It is simply wrong to
assert that, compared with the Mormons, the Shakers were "singularly favored by the law" in such actions. The Rappites fared little better—the Count de Leon revolution representing only the most avaricious and successful attempt to recover consecrated property.

The law of the Lord was far more unsettled and difficult to interpret than the law of the land, and both parts of God's law, consecration and stewardship, were a source of continual vexation in running the United Order. The Prophet's mixture of theological and legal language was of no practical use to Bishop Partridge, and being unable to bedevil the distant Prophet with questions, the bishop decided to interpret the United Order revelation by drawing up his two forms.

By one form—the covenant or "deed" of consecration—the Saint formally entered the United Order by giving to the bishop all that he owned: mattresses, shirts, plow, chairs, and the like, together with any land or money he might have. The consecrator now stood, as it were, naked before the bishop. The only way, it seemed, that he could continue living as a civilized human being

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1 F. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 122. If the Shakers were favored by anything, it was legal precedent. In 1799 they won the Benjamin Goodrich case, which tested the validity of their first covenant. They worked to strengthen this precedent over the next half century.

2 In some respects the separate Mormon deed of consecration was an improvement over the Shaker practice. The Shakers hit upon the idea independently after 1830. See the South Union (Ky.) Shaker community's special "Covenantal Consecration" inserted on page 26 of the South Union covenant, Filson Club Shaker mss., volume V. The Harmonists hired a lawyer, James Allison, to draw up a deed-of-property form which included a promise not to sue for the recovery of consecrated property. See James Allison to Frederick Rapp, Beaver, Pa., July 20, 1826. They took this step after experiencing much difficulty with an apostate named Jacob Shriver, whose suit they had to fight up to the State Supreme Court before winning out. The original trial was of great interest to the Shakers of Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, who had perhaps more property troubles than any other Shaker community. The Shakers asked for all the information the Harmonists could give on the case—especially on the law of evidence used. The Shaker letter was carefully answered. Francis Voris to Frederick Rapp, Pleasant Hill, Feb. 26, 1829; R. L. Baker to Frederick Rapp, Economy, Mar. 13, 1829, Harmony Society Archives.

3 See below, Appendix II, documents A and B.
was to regain the use of most of the personal items he had just donated. Partridge decided that the consecrator should get the items back as a "loan."

As it worked out in the money-short economy of the frontier, few candidates for admission to the Order had any cash, so that surviving lists of consecrated goods show such things as bedding, furniture, livestock, farming utensils, clothing, and tools. One consecrator valued his property at $316.52; another thought all his possessions worth $84.95. Most of the Saints were poor and these sums may be taken as typical. In effect, such men could offer their meagre possessions to the church only as evidence of good faith. ¹

A Saint who, like Isaac Morley, had consecrated land, received in return only as much land as he needed for himself and family. Although consecrations of money are mentioned in a few revelations, no deed of gift (consecration form) has come down for us listing cash. And since on the frontier anyone with an accumulation of cash was almost by definition wealthy, little or no money would be returned to him.

Only fragments of Bishop Partridge's records have survived, so that it is hard to say how many Saints alienated forever their surplus property. The Lord's Storehouse filled rapidly with their donations, and there were certainly enough consecrators to criticize the manner in which the common treasure of the church was spent. In 1832 such complaints led a council in Zion to resolve that Bishop Partridge give every consecrator a receipt for all money or other property received in the Storehouse and that the bishop covenant for himself, his heirs, and his successors to use the common fund only according to the laws of the church. ² In other words, consecrations made by

¹The two consecrations mentioned may be seen below in Appendix II, documents A, B, and C. The Benjamin Eames "lease" form (C) shows how much he originally consecrated. Two other consecrations were those of Levi Jackman ($92.75) and Joseph Knight ($98.09). Jackman's deed of gift may be seen in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City. Knight's gift is computed from his stewardship or "lease" form, which has also survived.

²Journal History, Jan. 24, 1832.
members of the United Order were to be used mainly to purchase land and not to pay for stagecoach fares.

After consecrating his all the new member of the Order took the second and final step for his salvation in the last days. He received back, as a steward, as much property as he needed for himself and his family and was assigned an inheritance of land: an acre or two for an artisan and about thirty acres for a full-time farmer. As steward over an eternal inheritance in the Land of Zion he was expected at the end of every year to relinquish all his surplus profits or crops to the Lord's Storehouse.

For this second step Partridge drew up a second form, the agreement of stewardship. By this instrument the steward agreed to "lease" his landed inheritance from the church and to "loan" (borrow) his personal effects from the bishop. The important part of this agreement was the "lease" of land. Since the steward could possess his land only by permission of the church, this system has rightly been compared to land tenancy.

Until it was revised and finally done away with about 1833, this second form caused Bishop Partridge no end of trouble. These land-hungry Jacksonians wanted to be owners and not tenants. They knew that the original United Order revelation countenanced no such lease-and-loan arrangement; "all" consecrated property was supposed to be irrevocably alienated and the landed inheritance was to be received in fee simple. Evidence for the way the stewardship was supposed to operate is even scantier than that for consecration, but one may reasonably conclude with the most thorough Mormon student of the United Order that the revelation had intended that the inheritance be secured by the common fee simple deed.² It is possible that Bishop Partridge permitted the steward

¹This is my term for the form. Mormon terms for the forms drawn up by Partridge are quite confusing and legally speaking are almost meaningless. Examples of the second form are given in Appendix II, documents B & C.

²See F. Y. Fox, "Experiments in Cooperation and Social Security Among
to get a secular deed for this "leased" land, but there is no evidence that any steward ever held such a deed.

The Saints wanted clear, unnumbered title to their inheritances. The only legal device that Bishop Partridge could find to resolve the conflict between responsibility to the church and the desires of the stewards was the "lease," and this did not satisfy the stewards. Whatever may have been the true intent of the Lord, the stewards had become lessees or tenants. It is perhaps more accurate to say they held their land by the medieval right of mortmain, that is, the stewards could not alienate the land even after acquiring a secular deed for it. If they died or apostatized, the vacant inheritance reverted to the bishop as a trustee for the whole church.

Considering the mistiness of the original revelation, Partridge's interpretation of it was quite reasonable. And his lease-and-loan system had certain advantages. It was probably unwise, for example, to give church property in fee simple to penniless newcomers whose devotion to the faith was yet to be tested. And indeed he later lamented that some of the poor who joined the church were "persons seeking loaves and fishes." Were these destitute

the Mormons: A Study of Joseph Smith's Order of Stewardships, Cooperation, and Brigham Young's United Order" (unpublished ms. in Church Historian's Office, S. L. C., 1937), 17. The usual evidence cited by Mormons for the intent of the original revelation is a later interpretation of the revelation by the Prophet in a letter to Partridge, dated May 2, 1833, and printed in Orson F. Whitney, "The Aaronic Priesthood," The Contributor (Salt Lake City), VI (Oct., 1884), 6.

1According to the Assistant Church Historian in 1957, Elder A. William Lund, only four stewardship agreements have survived, those of Titus Billings, Benjamin Eames, Joseph Knight, and Levi Jackman. The land records of Jackson county, though somewhat untrustworthy, do not record any conveyances bearing these names. See Appendix II, introduction.

2This was the informed opinion of F. Y. Fox, "Experiments in Cooperation," chap. 1, p. 18. Joseph A. Geddes, a less competent Mormon writer, thought the leasing plan foolish because it had ignored the "fundamental elements in the success of capitalism." Geddes, The United Order, p. 54. But Geddes' judgment merely shows how effectively he ignored the fundamental elements of the United Order—which did not pretend to be capitalistic.

3History of the Church, I, 380.
people who had come into the church for selfish reasons to be placed on a level with those solid Saints who had exchanged lands in Ohio for an inheritance in Missouri? Bishop Partridge did not think so.

There was another justification for Partridge's system: it would preserve the millennial community of Saints by making it impossible for unfaithful Mormons to hold land within the bounds of the community. Unfortunately, however, the bishop had no way of keeping the gentiles from settling in Zion—a fact that would eventually lead to the destruction of the Mormon community. He could exclude the gentiles only by buying up all the land of Zion as a single unit, but unlike the Shakers and Rappites the Mormons did not save up enough capital to do this. And unlike the Shakers and Rappites the Mormons insisted on settling at the particular place appointed by God and in no other. Even if they had enough money to buy out the gentiles already settled there, they would never be able to persuade the gentiles to sell; for most of the non-Mormons in Jackson county had no intention whatsoever of moving out because some "fanatical impostor" had singled their land out for the location of some preposterous City of Zion.

Partridge had no way of excluding these gentiles, and they eventually tarred and feathered him. Though he misjudged the temper of the gentiles, his leasehold plan was still an admirable protection against unfaithful Mormons. For if some Saints in the compact City of Zion should apostatize, their leases could be terminated, the faithless one expelled, and the inheritance taken over by a loyal Saint. If, on the other hand, the apostate had an irrevocable deed, he could legally continue living in the City as a trouble in Israel. This possibility became a reality in Nauvoo and ultimately destroyed that great Mormon city.

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Since his return to Kirtland in the spring of 1832 from his second trip
to Zion, Joseph had settled down to his usual work of revealing and elaborating doctrines far removed from the workaday problems of his millennial kingdom. But he also found time to establish a "school of the prophets" in Kirtland for the benefit of all those engaged in the ministry of the church; to prepare for the construction of a temple in Kirtland; and to resume, with the aid of Sidney Rigdon, his revision of the King James bible—which had been interrupted when the mob tarred and feathered him at Hiram.

The first intimation of Partridge's novel but reasonable interpretation of the laws of consecration and stewardship came to him in a letter from William Wines Phelps in the fall of 1832. It took the Prophet six months to rule on the canonicity of the bishop's lease-and-loan system.

Phelps, an ambitious officer of the Literary Firm and the editor of the church newspaper, objected (and apparently A. S. Gilbert agreed with him) that Bishop Partridge was violating the original United Order revelation. In November the Prophet wrote a letter to Phelps praising him for his faithful concern and giving him—and indirectly Partridge—some suggestions on the administration of the Order in Zion.

Not all Saints, Joseph pointed out, had equal claim to an inheritance, but only those who had consecrated their property and who had proved themselves zealous believers. To insure justice in United Order matters the Prophet suggested that John Whitmer, the Lord's Clerk and the Church Historian, keep detailed records of "all things that transpired in Zion," including a "book of the law of God." In the latter he was to list the names of all those who were eligible for inheritances. The Prophet also repeated the fixed criteria of eligibility: consecration of property, certification from Kirtland, acceptable manner of life, good works, and strength of faith. Apostates, of course, lost all claim to an inheritance, but Whitmer should keep similar records for apostates who had left the church after receiving their inheritances. As for any
other United Order problems, the Prophet sarcastically insinuated that editor Phelps might try reading some of the revelations he was supposed to be preparing for the press.

This letter did not satisfy Phelps and Gilbert. As it turned out, these two men were angry not so much with Partridge as with the Prophet's new centralizing policies. They felt that the new United Firm was destroying the duality of the two bishoprics. In private they accused the Prophet of striving for "monarchical power," of wrongfully remaining in Kirtland, and of slighting the welfare of Zion. They feared that God would not really provide inheritances without making any real consecration of property. These and other complaints quickly reached the ears of the Prophet.

Joseph and his aides back in Kirtland were especially grieved at the behaviour of Gilbert. Gilbert was an official of the Order, and yet he was suspected of "covetousness" and of opposition to the equality of property aimed at by the Order. And had he not, as keeper of the Mercantile Establishment (store) in Zion, refused credit to the poorer Saints? These deviations from United Order principles caused a feud between Gilbert and William M'Lellin, a leading elder in Zion who reported to the Prophet on Gilbert's leanings toward inequality.

The Prophet dealt with these and other complaints by various revelations, letters, and conferences. Answering the criticism, for example, that

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1Joseph Smith to William Wines Phelps, Kirtland, O., Nov. 27, 1832, in the History of the Church, I, 297; see also pp. 310-311, 365.

2Joseph Smith to William W. Phelps, Kirtland, O., Nov. 27, 1832, in the History of the Church, I, 297-299 (Part of this letter was later listed as separate revelation of God: D & C, 85.); letter from a "Conference of Twelve High Priests to the Bishop, his Council and the Inhabitants of Zion," Kirtland, O., Jan. 11, 1833, ibid., 317-321; "A Letter to the Brethren in Zion" from Joseph Smith, Kirtland, O., Apr. 21, 1833, ibid., 311.

I suspect that M'Lellin was a convert from one of the Shaker communities in southern Ohio or in Kentucky, but have not been able to find any evidence.
Joseph the Seer resided in Kirtland rather than Zion, the Lord said that Joseph would come to live in Zion in the Lord's "own due time" (a phrase that salvaged many a situation for the Prophet). And therefore, said the Lord, "let them cease wearying Me concerning this matter." The Prophet could easily answer such minor questions as this, but never during the year that followed his visit to Zion in April, 1832 did he really confront the main problem in the settlement of Zion: how was the law of the Lord to be interpreted? Instead he indulged in generalized anathemas.

Those who refused to consecrate all their property were stiffnecked sinners. Being polluted, such sinners were to be put out from the priesthood, as they were in the Old Testament (Esa 2: 61, 62), and cast out from the church. When Christ came, they would not find their eternal millennial inheritances among the Saints of the Most High and would not be saved. God had many kingdoms, of which Missouri was only one, and to be saved it was absolutely necessary to obey the laws peculiar to each kingdom. Very soon the end of the world would come and Satan would be bound for a thousand years. Those who disobeyed would be bound with him. Those who obeyed would "receive their inheritances and be made equal" with God. God would let his scourge and judgment fall upon the Saints in Zion if they were not "diligent and faithful in obeying the new covenant." And the new covenant now included Kirtland, Ohio.

Late in February, after having studied the Prophet's latest communication, the Saints in Zion seemed ready to make peace with one another and with the Prophet. But it would take more than millennial warnings to allay

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2See the letters in The History of the Church, I, 297-299, 316-321, 338-341, and D & C, 88. When sending this important revelation (D & C, 88) to W. W. Phelps in January, 1833 the Prophet called it "the Olive Leaf which we have plucked from the Tree of Paradise." The "we" probably referred to his chief counselor, Sidney Rigdon, who was to be accounted "as equal with Smith in holding the keys of the kingdoms" (D & C, 90: 3-4.)
the feuding over the interpretation of the law of the Lord. At heart men like Cowdery, Phelps, and Gilbert were still attached to capitalism—or at least to the inequality that arises out of free enterprise in land.

* * *

As a first step toward the restoration of peace a special council held in Zion in late February, 1833 appointed Oliver Cowdery, W. W. Phelps, and John Corrill to write a friendly letter to the brethren in Kirtland. Although these three men later proved to be lukewarm toward the United Order of Enoch, the Kirtland bishopric found their conciliatory letter to be "satisfactory to the Presidency and the church at Kirtland." The Prophet forgave the capitalists of Zion, including Gilbert: it was more important to Joseph that these men sustain him as a prophet and as a court of last resort than that they accept the United Order of Enoch with their whole hearts and whole souls.

Clearly authority for the government of Zion still lay in the east. But Joseph now realized that he could no longer exclude ambitious men like Phelps, Gilbert, and Cowdery from sharing in Bishop Partridge's power over Zion. Accordingly, he now encouraged a special council of high priests of Zion to meet and appoint seven of their own number, including Cowdery, Phelps, Gilbert, John Whitmer, Bishop Partridge, and the bishop's two counselors, Isaac Morley and John Corrill, as the general ruling body over Zion. In one sense this restored the status quo of June, 1831, when the Prophet had sent out the same seven high priests to Jackson county to lay the foundations of Zion. But now, in 1833, Bishop Partridge's position as head of the United Order no longer made him Joseph's vice-regent in Zion. And what little power he retained was further diluted by the rapid expansion of the United Firm.

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1History of the Church, I, 327.

2Ibid., 335.

3Ibid., 335-336.
In thus kicking Cowdery, Phelps, Whitmer, and Gilbert upstairs the Prophet had won a truce, but the battle over the question of land tenure still continued. In fighting fee simple Joseph was fighting the ethos of the whole frontier—and the secret convictions of his own heart. But he had no other choice. The law of the Lord had commanded that the church own and distribute the inheritances as a common treasure. Despite the opposition of Cowdery, Phelps, Gilbert, and a few others, most of the Prophet's followers still firmly believed in this millennial community of equal wealth. His problem was less the impious hankering of some Saints for inequality than the desire of the rank and file to own rather than lease their land. How could he permit fee simple and still retain church control over the land?

Joseph Smith claimed to be a prophet and not a businessman or lawyer. He had a habit of trying to solve problems by the imaginative manipulation of biblical language. But the question of land tenure was no easily managed abstraction. And the capitalists headed by Cowdery, having been thwarted in their attempts to get wealth by speculating in the lands of Zion, now tried to exploit the desire of many Saints in Zion for fee simple. Taking over the leadership of the unorganized protest against leaseholds, they began to press the Prophet for an unequivocal ruling on land tenure.

April, 1833 found the Prophet still avoiding a forthright answer to the questions raised by pious communitarians like Partridge and unregenerate capitalists like Cowdery. Having just returned that month from a hurried trip to Zion, Joseph sent back to the leading elders in Missouri two dilatory letters which merely reaffirmed the right of poor people to gather into Zion and to receive an inheritance. These letters, which still resisted an unequivocal pronouncement on the lease-and-loan system, were directed mainly at the four men who disliked economic equality: Gilbert, Phelps, Cowdery, and Ziba.
Peterson.

These four contumacious capitalists were doubtless the most intractible of the leading elders in Zion. At first the Prophet tried to discourage them with mild reprimands, but these had little effect. Two of the four, Gilbert and Phelps, even went so far as to intercept the Prophet's "general epistles" to Zion to keep them from the docile eyes of the man who should have studied them most: Bishop Edward Partridge. And in early April the stiff-necked Oliver Cowdery decided to force the issue on land tenure by cornering the Prophet with some very close questions on consecration and stewardship.

In replying to Cowdery's letter in a general epistle of April 21, 1833, Joseph merely shifted the responsibility for the interpretation of the law of the Lord right back to Zion:

With respect to Brother Oliver's private letter to me on the subject of giving deeds and receiving contributions from brethren, I have nothing further to say on the subject than to recommend that you make yourselves acquainted with the commandments of the Lord, and the laws of the state and govern yourselves accordingly. Recourse to the laws of the church and the laws of the state was excellent advice, but neither set of laws offered Partridge, Cowdery, or anyone else any clear interpretation of the original United Order revelation. In a separate revelation of 1831 the Lord had said that a Saint forfeited his inheritance upon his apostasy; the state law of Missouri said that a deed is given to a man and his heirs and assigns forever.

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There were now nearly two thousand Saints in Missouri and a decision on land tenure could not be put off. The Prophet could not parry and procrastinate indefinitely without losing his authority over Zion. This fact was brought home to him in late April, 1833, when he found out that Phelps and

1ibid., 338-342.  2ibid., 341.  3D & C, 51: 4.
Gilbert had been keeping mail from the eyes of the trustworthy Bishop Partridge. Surprised and angered, he wrote a private letter to Partridge and thrust right to the heart of the property system of Zion. \(^1\)

This oft-cited letter constitutes the only forthright, clear, and important statement ever made by the Prophet on the laws of consecration and stewardship. Its significance in reshaping the United Order has always been recognized to some extent. But the origins of the letter in the tangled realities of land settlement and its relation to the acrimonious differences between two emerging parties within the Order have always been obscured by secondhand references to the text of the letter. \(^2\) The original letter still survives, for Bishop Partridge wrote out a painstakingly exact copy on the back of one of his lease-and-loan forms.

With great warmth and sincere affection Joseph began by assuring Partridge, one of the most faithful followers he ever had, that he could rest content in the knowledge of God's special love for him; the Lord would not suffer His good bishop to be confounded "notwithstanding all the threatening of the enemy and Partridge's perils among false brethren" in Zion.

The Prophet then went on to explain the Lord's purposes as expressed in the original United Order revelation. Concerning consecrations of property the law, both secular and divine, was clear: consecrations were to be made in writing according to the well-established secular law of charitable donations. An apostate donor could not legally sue for the return of his gift; and "thus,"

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\(^1\)The letter is given in full in Appendix II, document D. Additional items of instruction were given in June. See History of the Church, I, 362-370.

\(^2\)Writers on the United Order, most of them Mormons with more interest in theology than in history, have generally relied on a useful but incomplete article written in 1884. See Orson F. Whitney, "The Aaronic Priesthood," The Contributor (Salt Lake City), VI (Oct., 1884), 6-7. The original letter may have been overlooked because of the unusual way Partridge preserved it. The full text is given in Appendix II, because the version in The Contributor is misleadingly inaccurate.
he wrote, "you see the propriety of the law: the rich men cannot have power to disinherit the poor by obtaining again that which they have consecrated."

This exegesis of the doctrine of consecration was entirely unexceptional. But the Prophet's explanation of land tenure, that is, stewardship, must have shocked Partridge, for it reversed the custom of two years standing:

... concerning inheritances, you are bound by the law of the land to give a deed securing to him who receives ... his inheritance, for an everlasting inheritance, or in other words, to be his individual property, his private stewardship; and if he is found a transgressor & should be cut off, out of the church, his inheritance is his still and he is delivered over to the buffetings of Satan till the day of redemption ...

... ....................................................

And now, bother [sic] Edward, be assured that we all feel thankful that the brethren in Zion are beginning to humble themselves & and trying to keep the commandments of the Lord, which is our prayer to God you may all be able to do. And now may the grace of God be with all. Amen. 1

If the lease-and-loan system ever really operated without a secular deed, it now ceased to do so. A secular deed guaranteed fee simple and fee simple represented a victory for the capitalists.

To take cognizance of the Prophet's reinterpretation of land tenure Partridge simply revised the printed stewardship form. The words "lease" and "loan" he retained, but to satisfy the Prophet and spike the rumor that the church was not deeding the inheritances, he struck out these two terms in two key places. Moreover, the revised text clearly stated that apostates could no longer be forced to "give back the leased premises." This change made it possible for an apostate to continue living in the community of Saints as a heretical source of infection and disunity. To cope with this danger the revised text bluntly required the apostates "to quit ... the premises"—a clause that no secular court in any state could ever enforce. Any Saint who

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1For the full text see Appendix II. The italics are mine; the leprous calamity is, I suspect, Partridge's. The quotation is taken from the copy written out by Bishop Partridge.
transgressed or apostatized before receiving his inheritance automatically forfeited all his rights to an inheritance.

The older stewardship form had reflected a Zion dominated by males: all pronouns in the inheritance clauses were masculine. But now, to express the Prophet's concern for the welfare of widows and orphans, Partridge replaced these masculine pronouns with blank spaces. Wives could now claim the inheritance of deceased husbands.  

About four weeks after receiving the Prophet's new opinion on land tenure Partridge published in the church newspaper a general epistle to the church at large. In it he assured all the Saints that when they received an inheritance they would own it outright. All Saints gathering to Zion, he wrote, "have, or will have 'deeds' in their own name." It seems, he continued,

as though a notion was prevalent in Babylon, that the Church of Christ was a common stock /communist/ concern. This ought not so to be, for it is not the case. When a disciple comes to Zion for an inheritance, it is his duty ... to consecrate /his property/ according to the law of the Lord, and also according to the law of the land, and the Lord has said, that in keeping his laws we have no need to break the laws of the land ...  

The original United Order revelation had probably intended that inheritances be held in fee simple. Now there could no longer be any doubt.

It was not merely the Prophet's long deferred ruling that forced Partridge to return to fee simple. Both the Prophet and his Bishop were also swayed by a groundswell of dissatisfaction among the Jacobin agrarians who made up the bulk of church membership. Equality and community life suited them well, but they were unhappy working land not their own.

In the early spring of 1833, a few weeks before the Prophet's ruling,

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1For these changes compare the older forms of the stewardship agreement with the revised form. The texts are given below in Appendix II. The Titus Billings agreement has been printed before, but never correctly. That the forms were revised has never before been noted.

one such Saint, a certain Bates from Ohio, went to court to express his unhappiness. Bates had consecrated fifty dollars toward an inheritance. Partridge, then still following his own lease-and-loan system, procured the deed in his own name. Bates apparently had not understood the law of the Lord well enough to realize that he had permanently alienated his fifty dollars. When he learned that Partridge now "owned" the fifty dollars, he went to the law of the land to get his money back. The jury found for the plaintiff in his suit against Partridge and the widely reported decision, recounted as though Smith and Partridge were simply two more frontier swindlers, tempted some of the less zealous Saints to imitate Bates.

Actually, it was Bates who was dishonest; for he seems to have borrowed his fifty dollars in the first place, and after recovering the money in a lawsuit he vanished one quiet Sabbath in June, leaving behind all his unpaid debts.

Mr. Bates did the Mormon church a good turn, for his victory helped bring a halt to the Prophet's ambivalence and vacillation in the matter of inheritances. The retreat of Bishop Partridge from the lease-and-loan system was a victory not only for those who were capitalistically inclined but also for many of the rank and file Saints. Most of the Saints remained communitarians, but they wanted their egalitarian community to be based on private property in land.

The Prophet's clear and definite avowal of fee simple accorded with the letter of the original United Order revelation, but not with its spirit. As a result of his decision the spirit of the Order moved closer to free

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1The Elders Stationed in Zion, to the Churches Abroad, in Love Greeting," a general epistle of Bishop Partridge in the Morning and Evening Star, Jul., 1833; Guernsey Times (Cambridge, O.), May 11, 1833. The Guernsey Times report was based on a letter written by Rev. Mr. Bixley /Fixley/, a Baptist leader of an anti-Mormon mob in Missouri, to the editor of the Cincinnati Journal.
enterprise. Only the continued insistence on economic equality in a planned millennial community preserved the essentials of a communitarian ethic. And even these essentials seemed threatened by the favored status accorded to Kirtland as the Stake of Zion.

* * *

Perhaps one reason for the Prophet's long delay in making a decision on land tenure was his preoccupation with the building up of Kirtland. While fending off queries from Zion he had continued his efforts to build a compact community in Kirtland.

It was to this changing but still communitarian settlement that the first Rappite converts to Mormonism came. As former communitarians they would have little effect on the rise of Mormon communitarianism, for they could not have arrived before 1832. By this time the United Order of Enoch was firmly established. Moreover, their number was undoubtedly small and no Rappites or persons with German names were prominent in the United Order. Any changes in the structure of Mormon communitarianism between 1833 and 1838 would arise from the ambitions of the Prophet, the rapid growth of the church, and almost continual persecutions of the church.

During these five years the Kirtland branch of the United Order remained theoretically subservient to Zion. But gradually, bolstered by the presence of the Prophet and unmolested by the spreading spirit of anti-Mormon persecution in Missouri, Kirtland soon outstripped Zion in economic power. And it even won a warm place in the millennial sun, whose rays— theoretically, at least—were supposed to shine on Zion alone.

From the complaints of Bishop Partridge and others it appeared that very little of the money and property consecrated "for the building up of Zion" got any farther west than Kirtland township. And in these years the screening of those who wanted to go to Zion was more rigorous than ever; for the Prophet
took measures to restrain the unorganized bands who had been journeying to Missouri between 1831 and 1833. Large numbers of unauthorized immigrants were overtaxing the comparatively slender resources of Bishop Partridge's Storehouse, and they represented a flight, from Kirtland, of some capital and considerable labor.

For additional capital—needed for land purchases in Kirtland—the Prophet looked to the great cities of the east coast. The conferences of April, 1832 which had approved the new status of Kirtland had also gone along with the Prophet's plan to negotiate a loan of $15,000.00. Accordingly, the following October he and Bishop N. K. Whitney journeyed to Albany, New York, and Boston, supposedly to proclaim to their proud inhabitants the gospel of the last days. 2

Cities were almost by definition evil, but they had large banks with good money to lend. In New York City, which he called "this great city like Ninevah" in a letter to his wife, the Prophet found some persons who were generous and trusting enough to give him several loans. 3 Since there were already many debts to pay by 1832, these loans were not enough and early in March, 1833 the Lord commanded Bishop Whitney of Kirtland to search diligently to obtain an agent, and let him be a man who has got riches in store—a man of God, and of strong faith—that thereby he may be enabled to discharge every debt; that the storehouse of the Lord may not be brought into disrepute before the eyes of the people. 4

Late in March, 1833 a special council met in Kirtland and appointed two officials of the Order, Ezra Thayre and Joseph Coe, as agents of the church for

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1See the letter of Joseph Smith to Jared Carter, Kirtland, Apr. 13, 1833, in the History of the Church, I, 339.

2D & C, 8:111; History of the Church, I, 295.

3A large portion of the Prophet's letter is printed in F. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 123.

4D & C, 90: 22-23 (Mar. 8, 1833).
the purchase of three farms: that of Peter French for $5,000.00, that of Isaac Morley for $2,100.00, and that of Elijah Smith for $4,000.00. In all this amounted to $11,100.00, or $900.00 more than the Prophet had borrowed in October, 1831 from a wealthy gentile in Kirtland. The council had decided to buy the French farm for its brickyard, "which was essential to the building up of the city." The farmland was to be rented until it could be subdivided into lots and sold. On April 2, another council of high priests met and appointed Frederick C. Williams, a counselor to the Prophet, to hire men to work there and to superintend their work. The same council instructed Ezra Thayre to purchase the Kirtland tannery of Arnold Mason, a gentile.

The construction of the city of the Stake of Zion in the Land of Kirtland was to begin at once. Aside from the temple the first buildings to go up would be: a schoolhouse for briefing elders who were about to leave on missions—the so-called "school of the prophets"; a house and office for the Prophet; and a printing office. All three were to be fifty-five feet by sixty-five feet on the inside.

The Prophet laid out his city of the Stake of Zion according to a special plat that has not survived. In the center was the temple. The first lot to the south of the temple belonged to the President; the second would be the site of the printing building; the third, the inheritance of Hyrum Smith, the President's brother. Reynolds Cahoon, a former Shaker, and Jared Carter were

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1This loan was first discovered by Mrs. Brodie in the records of the Chardon, Ohio, courthouse (Vol. V, p. 63). The records show that Joseph Smith and several others signed three separate notes on October 5 and 15, 1831. The first two notes, for $5,000.00 each, were payable on May 1, 1837 and on Sept. 1, 1837. The Mormons in Kirtland went bankrupt in the panic of 1837 and though the lender, Charles Holmes, sued Joseph Smith in April, 1838 for $15,000.00, he never got any money. See Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 116, note.

2History of the Church, I, 335-336, 352; D & C, 92.

3D & C, 94; 95-15.
to be in charge of all construction and received as their inheritances the first two lots on the north of the temple site—where Calhoun was soon digging the foundations for the temple along with Hyrum Smith. Apparently no one could be found to rent the French farm, for Bishop Whitney was commanded to subdivide it into lots for inheritances and thus pay off the farm mortgage. The farmhouse went to Zambre (John Johnson), whom the Prophet admitted to the Order for the express purpose of buying the house. Throughout the month of June, 1833 Kirtland was alive with plans for a new city and echoed with the sounds of actual construction.

* * *

The Prophet was in high spirits in the early summer of 1833. The continual bickering of the previous winter and spring over the aims of the United Order had ended with the solution of the land-tenure problem. He could expect Bishop Partridge to comply with his new instructions on land tenure—and this the bishop did just before a vicious anti-Mormon mob visited the Partridge home in July and prevented any further development of the United Order in Zion.

But despite all the happy prospects for Mormonism the Prophet still realized that he could not begin building a temple and other structures in Kirtland; that he could not divide the land into lots; that he could not even continue to reside in Kirtland—without seeming to betray the whole idea of Zion. By late June, 1833 he would have to make a decision to live in either Ohio or Missouri. A Missouri Saint visiting Kirtland at this time might resent the sight of temple walls already beginning to rise, while back in Missouri, in the very Center Place of Zion, log cabins still dominated the scene.

Possibly to discourage any invidious comparisons Joseph now sent to Missouri certain detailed instructions, revealed to him in a vision, for the

1D & C, 96.  
2Journal History, Apr. 6, 1837.
building of the millennial City of Zion. He set forth his extraordinary plans for Zion in a few closely packed paragraphs accompanied by a sketch of the layout of the City. The grandeur of the projected City of Enoch made his activities in Kirtland seem paltry and ephemeral by comparison. The instructions and the sketch were incorporated in a single document known to Mormon history as the "plot" or "plat" of the City of Zion.

The Plat of the City of Zion illuminates many a facet of the early Mormon mind. Like other communitarian sects, the Mormons intended to give their millennial city a shape that would reflect their peculiar aspirations. If the Shakers developed a distinctive style of furniture and interior architecture, so also did the Mormons design special temples and cities. The metamorphosis of Mormon temple architecture from the interesting Kirtland structure to the unusual, almost fantastic, Nauvoo temple, offers a dramatic illustration of the development of uniquely Mormon elements of style. And just as the Lord required a distinctive temple, so also did He insist upon a specially constructed city. The Plat constituted the blueprint for such a city, a perfect city, the millennial City of Zion.

The Plat of the City of Zion was interesting in itself and was important for its uniqueness as a technique of land settlement in the American West. But what made it extraordinary was its scope. The Plat, with but slight modification, was to be the standard plan on which all Mormon cities in the latter days were to be modeled. The Land of Zion, in order to house the elect of the whole world, had to be not one City of Zion, but a whole series of cities beautifully laid out and interspersed with smiling meadows and fruitful fields extending from Missouri to the Pacific ocean. The Plat envisaged nothing less

1 The instructions in Smith's handwriting have been printed in the History of the Church, 1, 357-362, with several erroneous "corrections." Where possible I have quoted only the ms. text. (See cut, opposite.)
than the subdivision of the entire trans-Mississippi West into one stupendous checkerboard of cities centering in, and spreading out from, Independence, Missouri. The fact that in 1833 most of the trans-Mississippi West belonged to the British, the Mexicans, and the Indians was perfectly irrelevant. Religious faith was blind to boundaries.

The basic plan of each of these myriad cities clearly reveals the communitarian soul of early Mormonism. The Plat provided for a city with a maximum population of 15,000 to 20,000 people. Each city would cover an area of 640 acres, or one square mile—a unit that seemed perfectly logical, for under its secular name of "section," one square mile formed the basic unit of the official federal square survey of all of the public domain west of Pennsylvania.

When each square city was laid off and supplied, the Saints were to "lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days, and let every man live in the city for this is the city of Zion."

On the north and south sides of each city a strip of land 20 perches (330 feet) wide and one mile long would provide ample space for farm buildings, "so that no barns or stables will be in the city among the houses."

The land extending north and south beyond the strips up to the next square city would be farmland, "sufficient to supply the whole plot of city" and presumably this farmland would be partitioned into small inheritances averaging about 30 acres in size. If sufficient land could not be laid off on the north and south without going too far from the city, then more farmland could

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1The eastern half of the Mississippi valley from Saint Louis, Missouri, to Kirtland, Ohio, was already loosely organized as the Stake of Zion and was administered from Kirtland. The east served as a large staging area in the process of gathering the elect from all parts of the globe.

2See below, p. 217.
ARRANGEMENT OF THE CITIES OF ZION

The westernmost city is the Center Place, or City of Zion, at Independence, Missouri. Additional cities of Zion modelled on the one at Independence are shown as small cross-hatched squares. Every city, including the City of Zion, is one mile square and is surrounded by farmlands and woodlots. Along the north and south sides of each city is a strip twelve perches wide and a mile long reserved for stables and other farm buildings. This strip is not shown in the above drawing.
be laid off on the east and west.

Since each city contained 968 households, with perhaps about 700 of them engaged in farming, the farm area between the cities would have to contain about 36 sections. By another mathematical coincidence—and one never before noted—36 sections amounts to exactly one square township, and one square township is the next higher unit above the section in the official land system of the United States government.

When spread out across the blank face of the West the many cities of Zion would assume a pattern not unlike that which, without the precise regulation of distances, eventually emerged on the Great Plains. (See diagram, opposite.) The Prophet's millennial community was imperial in scale, as was the American West it so closely reflected.

The internal arrangements of each city were equally remarkable and led at least one writer to refer to Joseph Smith as the first American "city-planner." Each city was subdivided into 968 half-acre lots. There was to be only one house to a lot. Each house had to be built of brick and stone and stand 25 feet back from the street, thus leaving a small yard in front, as the instructions stated, "to be planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder; the rest of the lot for gardens, etc."

The streets were very wide—8 perches (132 feet). The long, narrow residential lots were oriented north and south on one side of the street and east and west on the other side. Thus no one street would have houses on both sides entirely through the street, and none of the houses faced one another. This scattered arrangement of single households resembled the plan of the Rappite community of Economy and was quite different from the Shaker system of dormitories.

In the center of the city the Plat reserved a row of three 16-acre oblongs for buildings. The easternmost oblong would contain twelve temples
for the use of the lesser priesthood (the Aaronic). In the center oblongs
were the sites for twelve special temples for the use of the higher priesthood
(Melchizedek) and the First Presidency. The main temple of Zion was to be
located at the very center of the center oblong, and the Prophet supplied many
details concerning its size, style, and furnishings, including among the latter
some retractable curtains or "veils" which could be raised and lowered between
the pews.

The westernmost oblong was reserved for the use of the Lord's Storehouse
and other buildings for the United Order of Enoch. This area was to be admin-
istered by the bishop of Zion and corresponded to the business area of a secu-
lar city.

No man was to be an island in the last days. Each and every Saint was
to join one of these many self-sufficient, utopian cities. Much of the world
would, in Mormon language, perish for its whoredoms. But thousands, perhaps
millions, would hear the trumpet blasts, and with the introduction of the Plat,
the term Zion came to mean not just Independence, or Jackson county, but a vast
congeries of millennial cities. Joseph Smith's vision was at once communitarian
and imperial.

* * *

To interpret this imperial communitarian vision in terms of "hygiene,"
"convenience," or the elimination of crowding, as did Dr. Joseph A. Geddes in
his long standard study of the United Order, is to miss the essence of the Plat
as the outline of a religious utopia. In his still cited work Geddes naively
remarked that one is "struck forcibly by the extreme importance which is given
to the religious atmosphere which surrounds everything!" He also wondered
where "the art galleries, the public libraries, the museums, the aquariums,
the zoological gardens, the parks, the public baths, the playgrounds [etc.]
were to find a place." To such wonderment the millennialist, the Mormon answer
is: these things are found among the gentiles in Babylon.

Nor should the intellectual sources of the Plat be sought in secular examples alone. The placement of towns had a secular origin in the land system of the federal government; but while never before noted, this should cause no more surprise than the analogy of late Roman times: the first dioceses of the Roman Catholic church were practically coterminous with the provinces of the declining empire.

The facile guess that the scheme had its origins in the New England town system is as baseless as it is common. It has been said, for example, that "the blueprint for the City of Zion, an idealized New England town with adjacent farmlands, tried to combine the advantages of town and country living, an anticipation of the garden cities of today." Certainly, if town lots are indispensable to the definition of the New England town they are in the Plat; but the arrangement and purpose of the lots makes the Plat unique—and communitarian. The barn-less town with its outlying fields was almost indispensable

1See Joseph A. Geddes, The United Order, 90-93 and chap. ix. Lowry Nelson has written a more accurate and detailed study of the Plat of the City of Zion in his Mormon Village, A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement (Salt Lake City, 1952). Nelson, a professor of rural sociology, deals with the plan as it worked out in Utah, and rightly views the Plat as a "social invention... motivated by a sense of urgent need to prepare a dwelling place for the Saviour at his Second Coming" (p. 28) and "essentially utopian" (pp. 37-38).

Feramorz Y. Fox, in his "Experiments in Cooperation," felt (p. 2) contrary to Geddes that the city would be overcrowded, since there were only 960 houses, one to a lot, for 15,000 persons, or 16 persons to a household. Actually there were 968 lots, or 15 to a household—not an unusual number when one considers the Mormon practice at the time of having non-family members living in a household. Families also tended to be quite large.


3It was quite natural for almost all communitarian leaders to model their colonies to some degree on their own home towns. Thus, Albert Brisbane, who grew up in western New York as a contemporary of Smith, consciously and explicitly compared his own Fourierite communities with the townships of his boyhood. Brisbane, A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association, or
to the definition of a utopian community. The Shakers, the Rappites, and many other groups planned their communities in this fashion. A utopian community had to be "compact"—to use the Prophet's term—to foster perfection in the human and spiritual relations of a millennial society. The family living on an isolated farm tends to lose contact with the society and with its communal God.

Parley P. Pratt asserted that Joseph consulted the Book of Mormon and the Bible in making up the Plat. In the Book of Mormon the Prophet would have found only what he himself had written—very little of which would seem to be relevant to the Plat.

The Bible, however, was of more direct inspiration to him in making up the Plat. When, for example, after the Babylonian captivity, the Israelites were to be restored to the lands of their inheritances, large oblong and square portions of land were to be set aside for particular tribes, for the


But to recognize a natural tendency is only to state the obvious. All utopian communities, including the foreign-language ones, logically reflected the cultural background of the founders. The historian is interested in how such communities differed from the home towns. Thus, while Brisbane compared his communities to New England townships, for him it was the difference that was important: he emphasized that his townships were "rightly organized" (ibid., 74; italics in the original). "Rightly organized" townships are not merely "idealized townships." They are unique and peculiarly utopian. No New England town had Brisbane's "phalansteries," each of them housing 1800 persons.


2It is, however, interesting to note in connection with the egalitarianism of the Plat that in one of the several chapters of the Book of Mormon lifted almost without change from the King James version of Isaiah the Prophet revised one verse from the house of Israel shall possess them [strangers] in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids to the house of Israel shall possess them, and the Land of the Lord shall be for servants and handmaids, thus injecting a hearty Jacksonian, free-soil democracy into the text of his favorite Old Testament prophet.
priesthood, and for the Lord. The sanctuary of the Lord was in the midst of the portion assigned to the priesthood. Also provided was a "profane place for the city, for dwelling, and for suburbs: and the city shall be in the midst thereof." (Ezekiel 48:15.)

Ezekiel was clearly one important source of inspiration for the Plat. This and several other verses in the Old Testament undoubtedly contributed as much to the final form of the Plat as did Thomas Jefferson's square survey of the American West.

The kind of imperial utopian community envisioned by Joseph Smith in his Plat had been suggested as ideal long before the time of Smith. Such a predecessor of Smith was an Englishman who thought, like the Mormon Prophet, that in an ideal kingdom no cities would be more than a day's journey apart. He also felt that these cities, like those in the Mormon Zion, should have, each of them, an adjacent farm district. Like the Plat the Englishman's plan provided for commodious streets of great width and fireproof cooperatively purchased houses, each with its own garden. In fact, Joseph Smith's imperial community had a great deal in common with Sir Thomas More's Utopia.

* * *

The wide streets and substantial homes of Zion were never filled. For the rise of new persecutions, the indifference of the world to the Second Advent, and a gradual decline in the intensity of millennial expectation all

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It must be remembered, of course, that the Prophet read his King James Bible in the literal terms of the American backwoods of 1830 and not according to the lights of modern biblical scholarship. One of the most remarkably literal of the Prophet's many borrowings from the Bible was his design for the baptismal font he had built in the basement of the Nauvoo temple. This font rested on the backs of twelve life-size oxen made of brass. See I Ki. 7:23-25; II Ki. 16:17; and II Chr. 4:1-3a.
prevented the realization of Joseph's imperial vision. After the expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson county in the summer of 1833, a few "temporary" towns or "stakes of Zion" were laid out according to the Plat: Kirtland, Ohio (1834); Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman (both towns no longer extant) in Missouri (1836-38); Nauvoo, Illinois (1840); and ultimately many towns and villages in Utah.

Jackson county is still Zion to all Mormons and the Utah branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints will gradually increase its landholdings there. But the destruction of Zion in the summer of 1833 by the neighboring "Pukes," as the native Missourians were then colloquially called, profoundly altered the direction of Mormon communitarianism.

The dispersion and disunity that followed encouraged the rise of new men. Tested by adversity, these faithful but hitherto less well known Saints now stepped out of the background of Mormonism to contend with the gentiles and sometimes to contend among themselves. Such men were Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, Sampson Avard, and Lyman Wight.
CHAPTER VI

THE EMPIRE POSTPONED

July, which once dawmed upon the virtue and independence of the United States, now [1833] dawmed upon the savage barbarity and mobocracy of Missouri.

—Joseph Smith, ca. 1838

Ferocious Plains Indians were [In Kansas], but they were to be preferred to the [plundering] Missourians.

—Walter Prescott Webb,
The Great Plains, 1931

In June, 1833 the Saints had no inkling of what was in store for them. True enough, the first anti-Mormon mob had already gathered in April. But driven by their vision, the Saints ignored the mobs and went on building Zion in full confidence that they would be living in their golden millennial City long after the surrounding "Pukes" had given up their ghosts to Satan.

On June 25, the same day the Prophet sent the Plat of the City of Zion to his brethren in Missouri, he also sent certain detailed instructions for the expansion and regulation of the newly centralized United Order; the explosive growth of Zion had created a need for additional United Order officials 1 and for new instructions.

Almost all the new appointees were former Rigdonites. The two counselors of the Bishop of Zion, Isaac Morley and John Corrill, became bishops in their own right. Morley, after his ordination as second bishop in Zion, was to have as his counselors Newel Knight, the leader of the Colesville Saints,

1Letter of Sidney Rigdon (for the First Presidency) to W. W. Phelps and others in Zion, Kirtland, O., Jun. 25, 1833, in the History of the Church, I, 362-364.
and Christian Whitmer. Corrill, the third bishop in Zion, would have Daniel Stanton and Hezekiah Peck as his two counselors. To replace Morley and Corrill Bishop Partridge was advised to choose Parley P. Pratt and Titus Billings as his new counselors. Additional bishops like Morley and Corrill, the Prophet remarked in another letter, would have no special territorial jurisdiction. But "when Zion is once properly regulated there will be a Bishop to each square"—that is, to each mile-square city modelled on the Plat.

To make economic transactions between the two branches of the Order easier and more flexible the Prophet also instructed Edward Partridge to sign, together with his wife, a power of attorney in favor of Newel K. Whitney in Ohio. Conversely Whitney would sign over a power of attorney to Partridge in Missouri. The original forms would be drawn up in Ohio.

The Prophet also had to deal with the perennial problem of consecration and stewardship. He had no sooner settled the question of land tenure in May when Bishop Partridge sent him a list of questions concerning the consecration of property to the church. When a man consecrated his all, was the bishop to list a man's every belonging—down to shoelaces and razors? And who should judge how much a steward needed for himself and his family? This last problem was devilishly difficult, for unlike the Shakers and Rappites, the Mormons had preserved the family as an economic unit and permitted marriage. Most Mormon family heads naturally felt a certain self-interest in judging their needs: they felt that just about everything they had consecrated should be given back to them as necessary.

The Prophet lost no time in answering Partridge. Addressing a separate letter to him on June 25, 1833, he wrote:

... it is not right to condescend to very great particulars in

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1 Letter of the First Presidency to Edward Partridge, Kirtland, O., Jun. 25, 1833, in the History of the Church, I, 367.
taking inventories. The fact is this, a man is bound by the law of the
Church, to consecrate to the Bishop, before he can be considered a legal
heir to the kingdom of Zion; and this, too, without constraint; and
unless he does this, he cannot be acknowledged before the Lord on the
Church Book. Therefore, to condescend to particulars, I will tell you
that every man must be his own judge how much he should receive and how
much he should suffer to remain in the hands of the Bishop. I speak of
those who consecrate more than they need for the support of themselves
and their families.

The matter of consecration must be done by the mutual consent of
both parties; for to give the Bishop power to say how much every man
shall have . . . is giving to the Bishop more power than a king has; and
upon the other hand, to let every man say how much he needs . . . is to
throw Zion into confusion, and make a slave of the Bishop. The fact is,
there must be a balance or equilibrium of power, between the Bishop and
the people, and thus harmony and good will may be preserved among you.

Therefore, those persons consecrating property to the Bishop in
Zion, and then receiving an inheritance back, must reasonably show to the
Bishop that they need as much as they claim. But in case the two parties
cannot come to a mutual agreement, the Bishop is to have nothing to do
about receiving such consecrations; and the case must be laid before a
council of twelve High Priests, the Bishop not being one of the council,
but he is to lay the case before them.  

In this key passage the Prophet offered two contradictory solutions
for the consecration problem. On the one hand, each steward "must be his
own judge" of how much he should get back for his needs. On the other hand,
to preserve a "balance of power," the amount needed must be determined "by
the mutual consent" of bishop and steward—a very different matter.

In actual practice only the system of mutual consent could work, for
the Bishop of Zion held too much economic and theological power to be without
a voice in judging need. He located and assigned the landed inheritances
and he was chief officer of the millennial city. To ignore him would have
been to deny him the power and authority given him by revelation. Thus did
the Prophet try to harmonize individual need with communal responsibility by
a reassuring gesture in the direction of the steward and a solid word of
support for the bishop.

Underlying this Janus-like attempt of the Prophet to preserve unity

1Letter to Edward Partridge from the First Presidency of the Church,
Kirtland, O., Jun. 25, 1833, in the History of the Church, I, 368.
in Zion was the emergence about 1833 of two factions or parties within Mormonism: a hard core of what may be called fundamentalist communitarians—the ancestors of the modern Mormon fundamentalists—and a second and swiftly growing group of lukewarm communitarians and crypto-capitalists forever tempted by individual enterprise and personal reward. By 1833 the Prophet's movement had become rooted in the former, but his heart lay with the latter. In words, the Prophet upheld both parties when he could; in deeds, he worked against the communitarians.

Until the last four years of his life Joseph Smith could never face a divisive issue forthrightly. He vacillated when pressed on the location of the Center Place of Zion. He hemmed and hawed on the question of land tenure. He glossed over Cowdery's attempted land speculation. He gave, in the above-quoted passage, conflicting advice on the assessment of needs. And, as we shall see below in the crowning contradiction of his career, he both preserved and destroyed—by the mystical rhetoric of a revelation—the United Order of Enoch. Expediency was, so to speak, his guiding principle.

Joseph's contradictory solutions and vacillating answers may also be explained by the Jacksonian ethic of his followers. Their firm belief in the democratic dogmas of social equality and republicanism and their suspicion of wilful authority made it wisdom in him to avoid anything that smacked of autocracy. Until the megalomania—the word is not too strong—of his last years he handed down hard decisions as the Word of the Lord. He early insured the wide distribution of power in a complex of many church offices. He tried, when possible, to have important policy decisions made in conferences, councils, boards, and committees. It was perfectly natural, then, for the Prophet to speak of a "balance of power" between the bishop and the steward. And besides, had not the accusation been voiced in Zion just two months before that the Prophet, in organizing the United Firm, had sought "monarchical
What American leader in the age of Jackson could ignore such a charge?

Just how Bishop Partridge worked out a balance of power with his prospective stewards is not known. But the Prophet made one thing perfectly clear in the same letter. Once Partridge came to an agreement, he was to "be sure to get a form according to law for securing a gift." "We have found," Joseph wrote, "that a gift cannot be retained without this." ²

Such was the general status of the United Order in Zion in June, 1833. Rigdonites, that is, an essentially communitarian group, still dominated the leadership of the Order. Joseph seems finally to have settled on the standard procedures for carrying out the laws of consecration and stewardship. Bishop Partridge asked the Prophet no further questions.

Certainly Partridge still faced serious problems in building up the economy of Zion. But since the creation of the United Firm a year before, the two other institutions of the United Order in Zion, the Mercantile Establishment headed by A. S. Gilbert and the Literary Firm headed by W. W. Phelps, confronted even graver problems. The cash sales of the Mercantile Establishment were reduced by the successful operation of the Lord's Storehouse and by the competition of gentile storekeepers. Yet, Gilbert was expected to extend credit to all destitute Saints. This he could hardly do, for he was supposed to devote much of his sparse profit to the Literary Firm—and at the same time support himself and his family. When Gilbert complained about his lot, he received only admonitions from the Prophet. And when he requested a loan from

¹See his self-conscious quotation of this phrase in the letter printed in the History of the Church, I, 336.

²Sidney Rigdon (for the Presidency) to W. W. Phelps and others in Zion, Kirtland, O., Jun. 25, 1833, in the History of the Church, I, 364. Whether this is the form of consecration printed below in Appendix II is not certain, but I am disposed to think it is the same form.
Kirtland, he received nothing at all.

The Literary Firm fared little better. Anxious to preserve the Firm as his own inheritance and always seeking to increase its autonomy, W. W. Phelps was warned that "all members of the United Firm are one." Phelps must therefore accept interference at the hands of F. O. Williams in the east and "support" from the practically bankrupt Mercantile Establishment run by Gilbert.

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These letters of late June, 1833 were probably the last detailed instructions on the United Order ever written by the First Presidency. During the early spring and early summer of 1833 explanations of the Plat, of the lease-and-loan forms, of the plans for Kirtland, of the temple building, and of all the other optimistically ambitious schemes for the glory of Zion and the Stake of Zion had produced a veritable cloud of correspondence. The City of Zion at Independence was well on its way to becoming the most remarkable settlement in the history of the United States.

But suddenly, in the early weeks of July, the happy atmosphere changed and darkened with the fearful swiftness of a prairie tornado. And soon, the black smoke of anti-Mormon persecution began to roll into the sky, leaving behind the bitter ashes of burning houses and flaming crops and inspiring in the hearts of many Saints wild fear, enduring hatred, and sanguine apostasy.

Indeed, at the very moment Bishop Partridge was writing his conciliatory letter on land tenure to the church at large, the people of Babylon—the Missourians who surrounded him—were preparing to break both the law of the Lord and the law of the land. Egged on by the local clergy, infuriated by rumors that the Saints were abolitionists, and jealous of the spectacular

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1History of the Church, I, 340-341, 365-366. 2Ibid., 365-366.
progress made by the United Order in building up Zion, a mob of about four hundred local citizens collected on July 20 and began the work of destruction.1

First they broke into the Printing Firm, a two-story brick building which was also the home of W. W. Phelps. Needless of warnings from the more pious Saints that God would make their hands wither and dry up, they seized the hated Mormon press and destroyed it. Turning to the contents of the house, the mob threw out of doors or damaged everything they could find, including several signatures of the unfinished Book of Commandments (Joseph's revelations) and fresh copies of a new secular Mormon newspaper called the Upper Missouri Advertiser. After ordering Phelps, his family, and his seven employees to get out of the building, they razed it to the ground.2

Next, realizing the preeminence of Bishop Edward Partridge in Zion, they dragged the gentle bishop from his home and after abusing and stripping him coated him with a mixture of tar, feathers, and some corrosive agent. Others were treated in like manner or were whipped.

The mob next assaulted the store, or Mercantile Establishment, run by A. S. Gilbert. After making a good start at scattering Gilbert's stock of goods in the dirt of the public square they ceased when he promised to close up shop

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1Except where otherwise noted this account of the persecutions is based on the History of the Church, I, chapters xxvii-xxxii, esp. pp. 372-379, 390-400, and L:1-12; Brigham H. Roberts, The Missouri Persecutions (Salt Lake City, 1900); and Parley P. Pratt, History of the Late Persecution Inflicted by the State of Missouri upon the Mormons... Written during Eight Months Imprisonment in That State (Detroit, 1839).


3In 1832 Ezra Booth described Partridge as "in reality, the Viceregent of Smith in Zion." Booth, "Letter No. 7," in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 200. In September, 1833 a council in Zion acknowledged him to be the "head of the church of Zion." See the "Far West Record," 43.
and pack his goods. This gesture at surrender seems to have caused a two-day lull, and when the mob assembled on the twenty-third to resume operations, a truce was arranged by which the Saints agreed, in essence, to dissolve the United Order of Enoch, to stop any further settlement of their brethren from the east, to move half of their number out of the county by January 1, 1834, and to have all their fellow Mormons out of the county by April following. Officials of the United Order—Partridge, Phelps, Gilbert, and Corrill—were permitted to remain long enough to wind up the business of the Order. The women and children now came out of their hiding places in the neighboring woods and fields, and the mournful removal of the Saints from Zion began.

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The twelve hundred Saints who had gathered in the vicinity of Jackson county because they believed it to be the millennial place of refuge, a place appointed by God Himself, could not really break up the United Order of Enoch and leave Jackson county without denying the very heart of their faith. The Prophet realized this implication with greater force than anyone else. And well he might, for at the very moment the Saints in Zion were being driven out by persecution, the Prophet received a revelation in Kirtland, Ohio, assuring the western Saints that Zion would never fall, and that not the Saints but the wicked world would mourn. When news of the suffering Saints reached the Prophet, this ill-timed revelation was immediately followed by another revelation very different in tone and content. It advised patience in tribulation and reminded the Saints that they had recourse to the "constitutional law of the land" to protect their rights and privileges.

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3 D & C, 97 (Aug. 2, 1833); 98 (Aug. 6, 1833). The Missouri persecution began on July 20, and I assume, with less certainty, however, than Mrs.
Despite the efforts of the Prophet to bolster the resolution of the Saints, some Saints began to doubt the absolute necessity of gathering only in Zion and in no other place. When someone revived the old rumor that Zion was to be extended as far eastward as Ohio, the Prophet was quick to quash it. He continued to promote Kirtland as the Stake of Zion, but assured all Saints, new and old, of their right and duty to gather into Zion and to receive their inheritances. In the same breath, however, he also told them that some could, if they wished, come to Kirtland. And when an elder in Zion sent two sons to Kirtland to learn the will of the Lord in the matter of gathering, the Prophet even had a council in Kirtland declare unanimously "that it was the will of the Lord for all who were able and willing, to build up and strengthen the stake in Kirtland." The finger of the Lord pointed in both directions. It also pointed to a change in the direction of the United Order itself.

Taking advantage of the plight of the United Order in Zion, the Prophet transferred, temporarily it was thought, both the Printing Firm of Phelps and the Mercantile Establishment of Gilbert to Kirtland. He delegated himself, F. G. Williams, Sidney Rigdon, N. K. Whitney, and Oliver Cowdery to represent the rest of the United Order members in Zion. Then he called a special council and pushed through a decision to give the press, formerly conducted by W. W. Phelps in Zion, into the hands of Phelps's former enemies, F. G. Williams and Oliver Cowdery. The new firm was christened F. G. Williams and Company and was authorized to produce and publish the Evening and Morning Star commencing with the last number printed in Zion. The Star, an official organ of the church, would be edited by Cowdery in Kirtland until such time as peace was restored in

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Brodie, that news could not have reached the Prophet before August 6. See P. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 129, 134. He probably heard about the persecution before Oliver Cowdery arrived in Kirtland early in August to give him a special report.

1History of the Church, I, 419.  
2Ibid., 410.
Zion. And as soon as arrangements could be made, Williams and Cowdery would also publish a new newspaper in Kirtland to be called the *Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*.

On October 1, 1833, Oliver Cowdery started for New York to purchase 1 printing materials, and work was begun on a building to house the press, a two-story structure only thirty by thirty-eight feet in size. This was much smaller than the original design given by the Lord in Joseph's vision of a plat for Kirtland. The press also had to share the first floor of this small building with the School of Prophets, an organization for training missionaries. All other construction in Kirtland stopped; for Kirtland could not indulge in the luxury of building such expensive structures as the temple when Zion itself had ceased all building activities.

Since the Mercantile Establishment of Zion was already part of the United Firm, it was a little easier for Kirtland to take over its assets and debts. In Kirtland the United Firm, administered mainly through Bishop N. K. Whitney's Mercantile Establishment, included among its assets the French Farm (103 acres), a brick kiln (on this farm), a tannery, an ashery, and the farm of F. G. Williams (142 acres). In effect the assets of the Establishment in Zion merely augmented those of the Establishment in Kirtland. Like Cowdery, Whitney soon started for New York with about two thousand dollars or more: "enough to pay all the debts of both establishments" and to purchase a larger stock of goods than ever before.

In spite of these developments favoring Kirtland, the fact that Mormon

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1 *Journal History*, Oct. 1, 1833.

2 Sensitive to the possible comparison of Kirtland with Zion, the leaders of Kirtland decided to halt all work on the Kirtland temple during the coming winter "for want of materials." *History of the Church*, I, 418.

millennialism centered on a particular place—Jackson county—and the fact that over a thousand Saints had made capital investments in western Missouri insured the theoretical primacy of Zion. And the Prophet seemed willing to uphold the sanctity and necessity of a United Order in Zion; for when the anti-Mormons of Missouri offered to buy out the Lord's Storehouse, a revelation of the Lord promptly and expressly forbade Partridge to sell out. Although the easterners were exploiting the Missouri persecution to gnaw away at Bishop Partridge's authority in Zion, they nevertheless still hastened to acknowledge him in September, 1833 to be "the head of the Church in Zion . . . and by virtue of his office . . . moderator or president of the councils or conferences." The easterners also recognized Partridge's undoubted jurisdiction over the ten high priests, most of them bishops or bishops' counselors, who presided over the ten branches of the church in Zion.

Edward Partridge would be the last bishop ever to enjoy such primacy—however theoretical his power may have been; for over the next year Joseph began applying his stake unit not merely to Kirtland, but to the whole of the United States. This proliferation of Mormon stakes eventually destroyed the duality of Kirtland and Independence. It also weakened the uniqueness of Zion itself.

The Prophet consciously tried to subordinate Zion as well as the United Order to his large and increasingly non-communitarian ambitions for Kirtland. This fact has never been adequately understood. Even before the outbreak of

1 D & C, 101: 96; E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 142-144.

2 History of the Church, I, 409.

3 Most of these high priests were loyal to the United Order. They were Newel Knight, Daniel Stanton, David Whitmer, John Corrill, Thomas B. Marsh, Peter Dustin, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Simeon Carter, and Calvin Beebe, the heads, respectively, of branches number 1 (Colesville Saints), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. See the "Far West Record," 35-36.
persecution in Zion many of his actions tended to favor Kirtland rather than Zion. His continued residence in the east, his ambitions for the expansion of Kirtland as "the Stake of Zion" (now one of several stakes), his creation of a United Firm that in its organization and assets dominated the Mercantile Establishment of Zion, his attempt to control the settlement of Zion, his retention of much consecrated capital in the east—all these point to a bias in favor of Kirtland. Between 1834 and 1838 the attempt to subordinate both Zion and its Order became ever more strong and more open.

It is perhaps the greatest irony of his career that the Prophet, in spite of every open and clandestine effort he made during the rest of his life, was unable to rid himself either of the communitarian United Order of Enoch or of Zion. Both doctrines outlasted him and lived on in the hearts of his followers. Like the sorcerer’s apprentice he could not dissuade his followers from continuing to obey the commandments of the master.

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In Zion the uneasy truce between the Saints and the "Pokes" lasted through the summer. By early September aid and comfort from Kirtland had helped restore the faith and buoy the spirits of the western Saints. Even W. W. Phelps was able to forget his printing press long enough at one point to sing a hymn, in tongues, all about the "travels, toils, troubles, and tribulations" of the Nephites. And Lyman Wight, a fanatical advocate of the communitarian life, was on hand to interpret the strange language.

But the Saints were also resolved to seek redress for their property losses and for their personal sufferings. When news of this Mormon intention to seek justice spread through the countryside, the mob resumed its pillage,

1See below, pp. 247–253.

2"Far West Record," lb; History of the Church, 1, 409.
plunder, and rapine with greater ferocity than ever. During the first anti-
Mormon attacks some of the Missourians had argued for mercy and patience, but
the mob leaders had stated in reply: "It may be said... that the fate
which has marked the rise and fall of Johanna Southcote and Ann Lee will also
attend the progress of Joe Smith; but this is no opiate to our fears, for when
the fabric falls, the rubbish will remain." And the head of the local Cumber-
land Presbyterians, one of several clergymen who had helped incite the mob in
July, had stated that "the Mormons are the common enemies of mankind and ought
to be destroyed." The mob claimed to be justified "by the law of nature, as
by the law of self-preservation" in saving the whole structure of their
society.

The social patterns of that society were overwhelmingly Southern. The
northerners who had persecuted the Mormons in Ohio and New York had had many
motives for hating the Mormons. But the western mob were impelled by two fac-
tors peculiar to the situation in Jackson county: fear and envy of the eco-

domic superiority of the Mormon United Order; and, secondly, the belief that
the Mormons were free soilers who were inviting free Negroes and mulattoes
from other states to become Mormons and settle in Missouri. Mob leaders
accused the Saints of "tampering with our slaves, and endeavoring to sow dis-
sensions and raise seditions amongst them."

This latter motive—fear and hatred of abolitionists—was the source
of some of the wildest flights of the Southern mind between 1830 and 1860.
The abolitionist tendencies of the Mormons could not be denied, but any really

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1Western Monitor (Fayette, Mo.), Aug. 2, 1833, reprinted in the History
of the Church, I, 395-400.

2History of the Church, I, 392.

3"Manifesto of the Mob," History of the Church, I, 374.

4Ibid., 375.
active "tampering" with the Negro existed only in the imaginings of their gentile neighbors. In fact, Mormon doctrine held that only "white, delightful" people were saved. Dark-skinned people could turn light by becoming Mormon, but as late as 1839 Parley P. Pratt could boast, in refuting the southerners of Missouri, that "in fact one half dozen negroes or mulattoes, never have belonged to our Society, in any part of the world, from its first organization to this day." Pratt's efforts to deny that Mormonism had any particular attraction for Negroes came later, but in July, 1833 the editor of the Mormon Evening and Morning Star issued an extra expressing sympathy with Southern fears of a slave rebellion and assured them that the Saints opposed the entry of free Negroes into Missouri. The editor even stated that no Negroes would be admitted to their church.

Such disavowals did nothing to quiet the fears of the Missourians. The Nat Turner slave insurrection of 1831 was still a fresh memory. And not many years later the sons of pro-Southern Missourians would provide recruits for the bloodshed of 1854 in Kansas-Nebraska, just across the river. In 1860, when Jackson county was fully settled, William Gilpin, the American author and geopolitician, was the only person in the whole county who voted for Lincoln.

While due weight must be given to all this fear of abolitionism as a motive for the Missouri persecutions, an even more powerful reason for the hatred of the Mormons and for the short life of the July truce was the United Order of Enoch. The greater efficiency of communitarian organization under the Order tended to isolate the gentile slaveholders and free farmers economically and seemed to threaten their entire livelihood. The gentiles resented the communitarian clannishness of the Mormons and hated the calm assurance of the Saints that God had set aside Jackson county for His chosen people.

1Pratt, History of the Late Persecution, 11.
In July fear of the Mormons' power as a communitarian group had led the gentiles to attack the Literary Firm and the Mercantile Establishment and later to attempt to buy out the Lord's Storehouse. Nor were these institutions merely the most convenient targets for the mob. The Missourians knew about the system of inheritances and feared them. To the Missourians the United Order seemed a dark and mysterious barrier to a bright future. A suspicion in their unquiet minds that Mormonism was an evil secret society enabled them to make much of a single verse of an earlier revelation, a verse which promised that inheritances in the Land of Zion would be obtained "by purchase or by blood." And did not the latest issue of the Star publish a letter by Bishop Partridge warning the Saints not to suppose they could come to take Zion "by the shedding of blood"?1 Who could guess at all the bloody schemes the Mormons were hatching in their many secret meetings?

Under these circumstances Mormon efforts between July and October to get justice were futile. State and local government lay in the hands of the Missourians. And western Missouri was not only Southern and individualistic; it was also a frontier area more notorious than most for the breakdown of law. Well might the mob appeal to the law of nature, for there was little else. Every official from the local justices of the peace to the governor of the state were either opposed to the Mormons or in fear of the Missourians. The four craven gentile lawyers who finally agreed to defend the Saints demanded an exorbitant fee to compensate, they said, for the "considerable loss" of legal practice they would incur by taking the Mormon suit. And while the lawyers were discussing fees the mob was considering a second and bloodier attack on the Mormons.

On October 31, 1833 violence broke out again and centered this time among the Colesville Saints, who were somewhat isolated in the western part of the county. But throughout the county the mob damaged or burned hundreds of Mormon homes, destroyed crops, molested women and children, and beat and whipped several men. A. S. Gilbert, who had barely escaped the fate of Phelps and Partridge in July, now looked on helplessly as the mob partly pulled down a large brick addition to his house and severely damaged the wooden section. The mob also burst open the three doors of Gilbert's Mercantile Establishment and scattered its goods in the streets.

By the second of November every Saint in Independence, Jackson county (the "Center Place" of the Land of Zion), had moved with his belongings to a camp outside the city limits, and in the rest of the county most of the Saints had fled before the raging mob. A party of one hundred and fifty women and children protected by only six men wandered over the snow-covered prairie west of Independence for six days, leaving a trail of blood from their lacerated feet. Others fled northward toward the Missouri river boundary between Jackson and Clay counties.

At this point the Mormons ceased to turn the other cheek. A company of one hundred Mormon volunteers from all ten branches of the church in Zion, all led by Lyman Wight, attempted to halt the merciless attacks. But to no avail. With the onset of winter all the Saints crossed the Missouri river and took refuge in Clay county.

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Thus it was that the economic anxieties of the gentiles, added to their wild fear of abolitionism, gave rise to the fiery persecution of the early summer and late fall of 1833, a persecution, only faintly depicted above, that consumed, almost literally, not only the buildings of the Saints, but also many written sources for the history of the United Order in Missouri. The full
story of the United Order in Missouri will never be known. But many a Saint remembered its extensive progress even after wind, rain, arson, and wilderness had obliterated almost every board and brick they had set into place. From their vivid reminiscences, from the few papers saved by Bishop Partridge, and from other sources a fairly good picture of the City of Zion may be reconstructed.

A bird's-eye view of the City of Zion (Independence, Missouri) in the summer of 1833 would have revealed little more than the virgin woods and prairies that made up the gently rolling countryside. The only discernable break in the continuous greenery was the small cluster of buildings making up the town of Independence. Scattered around what could be called the public square were a new brick courthouse, the Lord's Storehouse of the Mormons, two or three small stores catering to the Indians and gentiles, and perhaps two dozen rude unpainted structures—at least half of them log cabins, and several of them belonging to non-Mormons. This square was to be the center of the City of Zion. To the gentiles it was merely the center of the city of Independence. The Mormons had not founded Independence, but they were among its first settlers in 1831. And here, as throughout the county, the Saints were already rapidly overrunning the gentiles.

Besides the United Order buildings for the press and the store the Saints owned a ferryboat on the Little Blue river and a gristmill. The mob damaged the boat and burned the gristmill. In or near Independence there was a "house of entertainment" to accommodate travelling elders and important guests. The house of entertainment was simply the Mormon version of the guest house of the Shakers and other communitarians. By the 1840's, when it was

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1Ezra Booth, "Letter No. 6," in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 196. One of the stores was owned by the chief competitor of the Saints, Moses Wilson—"that unhung land pirate and inhuman monster," the Prophet called him—who delighted in whipping innocent Mormons.
revived in Illinois as the "Nauvoo House," it had become a large hotel financed by public subscription.

Bishop Partridge controlled the Lord's Storehouse, but for its everyday management he appointed A. S. Gilbert "Keeper of the Lord's Storehouse." Very likely some of the consecrated goods and monies were kept in Gilbert's retail store—so-called Mercantile Establishment. Even before instructed to do so by the Prophet in the Plat of the City of Zion the Saints had constructed all their church buildings, except perhaps the house of entertainment, at least in part of brick and stone—an unusual practice for this frontier community. All such buildings were held in common or managed as private inheritances for the common good. Capital for the construction of buildings held in common came from the Lord's Storehouse.

Either in Independence or in the county at large stood several "mechanics' shops." What trade these mechanics engaged in is now unknown. The Saints also had at least one blacksmith shop. All these shops were closed by the anti-Mormons.

Scattered throughout the county were at least five hundred Mormon dwellings. Since construction of these had begun before the Plat of the City of Zion arrived, they were probably built of wood. Two hundred and three of them were burned to the ground during the first wave of persecution in July.

The rapidly expanding physical outlines of Zion gave evidence of a healthy Mormon economy—despite the many problems Partridge had encountered.

1A general conference held in Zion on January 21, 1832 instructed Bishop Partridge to establish the house of entertainment. See the Journal History, Jan. 21, 1832.

2See the History of the Church, I, 429, 438; "Memorandum of agreement between the . . . Mormon society in Jackson county, Missouri, and a committee appointed by a public meeting of the citizens of said county, made the 23rd day of July, 1833," ibid., 41; affidavits made on July 1, 1843 before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo by Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight, ibid., III, 427, 439; petition to the Congress of the United States, ibid., IV, 27; and E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 142-144.
in setting up the United Order. This was borne out by the general feeling of satisfaction among the Saints with his administration and by the financial status of the Order itself. Compared with the abuse heaped by some Saints upon the operation of the laws of consecration and stewardship, criticism of the Storehouse was negligible. Since most of the Saints in Zion took more from the Storehouse than they consecrated to it, they were not eager to complain about it. And even though most of them did not completely understand the nature of their temporal system, they were satisfied that the "Bishop's Storehouse," as they called it, was justly administered. Indeed, funds were so equally distributed, wrote one recipient, that it was the equivalent of having "all things in common." "The poor," she wrote, "were provided for, as well as those wealthier members who had put their money into the treasury. They were all satisfied and happy to all appearance, and all seemed to enjoy themselves."

The same writer thought of the Storehouse as the "church treasury" and this was perhaps its most accurate name.

The Storehouse, or "treasury" as this writer aptly termed it, acquired most of its fluid capital from the consecrations made by wealthier Saints upon their admission to the United Order of Enoch. But a very large proportion of its assets were held in kind. Besides acquiring the moveable property consecrated by poor Saints the Storehouse began, during the first twelve months of its existence, to fill up with local agricultural products—mainly barrels of salt pork and sacks of corn. This came mostly from the annual surplus consecrated by good stewards.

In January, 1832, only six months after the arrival of the first Mormon settlers in Jackson county, Bishop Partridge made his first regular report on

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1Emily W. Austin, Mormonism . . . Being an Autobiographical Sketch (Madison, Wis., 1892), 66-67.

2A. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, 97.
the financial condition of the United Order in Zion. The figures on income and disbursement show that the Storehouse was strong and prosperous. During this short period, when the number of Saints in Zion went from two or three advance scouts to about three hundred souls, the Bishop had received (counting his own money) $4,508.24. Disbursement during the same period "for lands and other necessities for the church" amounted to $3,449.90, thus leaving a small balance in black ink.

Bishop Partridge was not backward in spending what money he did acquire, for the Saints had ambitious plans. But it was also in the very nature of the Storehouse not to accumulate capital: money came into one door of the Storehouse as a consecration and went out the other door as the purchase price of an inheritance. The Storehouse had been instituted for the purchase of lands and for the "building up of Zion." The latter phrase came to be interpreted very loosely, for this common treasure of the Saints had been used to pay for the Prophet's travel expenses and to cover legal fees in suits involving the church.

The purchase of lands for inheritances had first priority in the expenditure of monies in the Lord's Storehouse. After 1832, however, Bishop Partridge felt obliged to invest a good deal of capital in the Mercantile Establishment, or store. A. S. Gilbert was to have opened the Mercantile Establishment in October, 1831, but lacking sufficient funds to stock it, he did not really get started until January, 1832. From 1832 to 1834 Bishop Partridge helped the store get on its feet by pumping capital into it from the Storehouse. During these two years, indeed, the bishop seems to have spent most of the Storehouse money in St. Louis for farm machinery, groceries, and dry goods to be sold in Gilbert's Mercantile Establishment.

1 Journal History, Jan. 24, 1832.
2 Emily W. Austin, Mormonism, 66; "Far West Record," 87.
According to the rules of the United Order the bishop's action was improper, for the Establishment was supposed to be giving its excess profits to the Lord's Storehouse and not vice versa. But the bishop had no other choice, since Gilbert was just building up a retail business and needed stock. Moreover, he was expected to support himself and his family through this business and even to help support the Printing Firm. As a result, Gilbert had no excess profits to give.

Apparently the Prophet had originally conceived of the Mercantile Establishment as an instrument for the creation of capital. Eventually it would certainly have performed this function—as did the Z. C. M. I. in the later Utah period. The Z. C. M. I. (Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution), now a well-known Mormon department store in Salt Lake City, was in fact a direct descendant of Gilbert's struggling frontier store.

In starting the Mercantile Establishment Gilbert did not create capital for the church—he absorbed it. And the premature demands of other United Order institutions for his excess profits made him very unhappy. Besides, Gilbert had a long-standing distaste for any sharing of the wealth.

Nevertheless, Zion's hard-pressed merchant managed the Mercantile Establishment quite efficiently. Church members, who were expected to buy from him, made up the bulk of his clientele. Few if any Lamanites (Indians) from across the river in Indian Territory became Mormons, but church leaders planned on their becoming customers of the store. Bishop Partridge took steps to obtain an Indian trader's license from the federal government and saw that the Mercantile Establishment was furnished with goods suitable for the Indian trade. The hungry dragoons across the river in Fort Leavenworth were also prospective customers. Since its foundation in 1827 Independence had been an outfitting point for the caravans plying the Santa Fe Trail and it quickly became the "jumping-off place" for opening the trans-Mississippi West. It may be
safely asserted that until persecution destroyed their settlement in the summer of 1833 the Mormons were on their way to the mastery of the trans-Mississippi trade—just as the Rappites before them had dominated the trans-Appalachian trade at the earlier jumping-off place of Pittsburgh.

When in January, 1832 Gilbert's books were examined by the leaders of the United Order, they showed an income since fall of $2,694.70. This had come almost entirely from eastern Mormons and about half the sum had been sent to Gilbert by the eastern branch of the Mercantile Establishment—Newel K. Whitney and Company in Kirtland. This eastern supply of capital was cut off three months later, when the eastern and western stores were amalgamated under the United Firm.

As of January 27, 1832 Gilbert's expenditures amounted to $2,677.83, most of it for stocking the store and for the transportation of persons on official church business. Since those heavy expenses left him only $16.00, he suggested to a conference that the eastern brethren be notified of his financial plight: of his great need for working capital and of his inability at the moment to provide for any poverty-stricken Saints planning to gather to Zion. He pointed out that since his arrival in Zion only a year before the cost of provisions had doubled.

In a separate general report intended for Kirtland Bishop Partridge was just as cautious as Gilbert in describing the economic situation in Zion. Like Gilbert, he stated that provisions were scarce and dear. He also pointed out that as of January, 1832 he had purchased twelve hundred acres of land; but he felt that news of this progress should not be spread among all the Saints, for it might cause a stampede toward Zion of poor, land-hungry Saints in the east. Moreover, the United Order still owed two hundred dollars on the land, which was mostly covered with virgin timber "and not in a condition to be improved.
this season.  

Bishop Partridge had ample reason to fear the sudden immigration of large numbers of poor Saints into Zion, for as he later complained, many of these easterners were insincere persons "seeking the loaves and fishes, or such as have lost their standing among men of character in the world." But most of the faithful who "got crazy to go up to Zion" in 1832 were poor. Even the non-Mormon newspapers reported that "each successive spring and autumn pours forth its swarms among them, with a gradual falling off in the character of the people."

This immigration had already begun to overwhelm Bishop Partridge in 1832. Those who were able to do so bought land on their own initiative—a betrayal, in principle, of the United Order, even if such persons consecrated their surplus. But most of those who came west, being poor and needy, expected to receive their eternal inheritance from the bishop; and they soon drained the church treasury. The consecrations of the few rich never balanced the supplications of the many poor. And some rich eastern Saints who had consecrated their all to the church back in Ohio arrived in Zion only to discover that there was not enough land to give them an inheritance.

Nothing better illustrates the lower and lower-middle class agrarian

1Journal History, Jan. 21, 27, 1832; Ezra Booth, "Letter No. 16," in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 219-220.

2"The Elders Stationed In Zion to the Churches Abroad," a general epistle published by Bishop Partridge in the Evening and Morning Star, Jul., 1833, and reprinted in the History of the Church, 1, 379-387.

3John Corrill, A Brief History of the Church, 18-19.

4Chardon Spectator and Ocega Gazette, Aug. 31, 1833, reprinted from the St. Louis Missouri Republican of Aug. 9.

5James H. Hunt, Mormonism (St. Louis, 1844), 174.

6A. B. Deming, Read and Laugh, p. 3, cols. 3-4.
origins of early Mormonism than this widespread land-hunger among the Saints. In January, 1832, Bishop Partridge felt compelled to warn a conference held among the Coleville Saints in Kaw township that if Zion were to become a true city, it must be filled with "mechanics as well as farmers."

Among other things, this conference considered the wisdom of setting aside two hundred acres for the use of mechanics. After a long discussion the conference merely agreed to request the churches in the east to send two mechanics then most needed in Zion. Not unnaturally one was to be a blacksmith. The other skilled trade chosen—silversmithing—might seem unlikely for a wilderness settlement; but perhaps the Saints remembered God's promise of wealth for Zion: "for brass, He will bring gold; and for iron He will bring silver; and for wood brass; and for stones iron."

To be self-sufficient Zion needed tradesmen and artisans as well as farmers, producers of a cash surplus as well as growers of corn. In the absence of a market for all the grain that could be grown how else could the bishop pay for the land he had and buy more land? Bishop Partridge used this common-sense argument when the time came to ask Kirtland for skilled artisans. For this and for many other reasons, he wryly explained to the easterners, "we have sent only for mechanics, knowing that others are commanded to come, and believing that others will come without a command."

But the Kirtlanders could do little to control the emigration to Zion beyond telling those who left that they must be certified, in writing, as eligible for an inheritance in Zion before leaving Ohio. And even this rule could be broken. A year later, when a large group of poor families wanted to leave for Zion, Bishop N. K. Whitney in Kirtland consulted with his two counselors

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1 *Journal History*, Jan. 23, 1832.
and decided that this group "should be placed in a situation, so they could sustain themselves as much as possible and not be a burden to each other."\(^1\)

This decision implied that if these poor persons should go to Zion, they must be self-supporting and make no demands on the Lord’s Storehouse. Apparently they were warned that they could not be immediately certified as eligible for inheritances.

Since the "Book of the Lord" listing consecrations and inheritances has not survived, there is no way of determining the percentage of those who received farms without really consecrating any cash to the church. In a general epistle addressed to the church at large in July, 1833 Bishop Partridge stated that many had been "planted upon their inheritances, where, blessed with a fruitful soil, and a healthy climate, they are beginning to enjoy some of the comforts of life." But he warned the overly optimistic Saints, some of whom had naively discarded their private property, that a money economy of supply and demand still existed in and around Zion. It was a mistaken idea, he said, that money was no longer needed, even for consecrations to the church.

This is not right, he continued, nor according to the commandments. We would advise... that every disciple... pay his just debts so as to owe no man, and then if he has any property left, let him be careful of it; and if he can help the poor, by consecrating some for their inheritances; for as yet, there has not been enough consecrated to plant the poor in inheritances, according to the regulation of the Church and the desire of the faithful.

This might have been done, had such as had property been prudent. It seems as though a notion was prevalent in Babylon, that the Church of Christ was a common stock concern. This... is not the case. When a disciple comes to Zion for an inheritance, it is his duty, if he has anything to consecrate to the Lord for the benefit of the poor... or to purchase lands, to consecrate it according to the law of the Lord, and also according to the law of the land... Again, while in the world, it is not the duty of a disciple to exhaust all his means in bringing the poor to Zion;... because if all should do so, there would be nothing to put in the storehouse in Zion for the purpose which the Lord has commanded... .

Do not think, brethren, by this, that we would advise or direct that

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\(^1\)Ibid., Feb. 10, 1833, quoting from the ms. journal of Reynolds Cahoon.
the poor be neglected in the least. . . . yet. . . . to see numbers of disciples come to this land, destitute of means to procure an inheritance, and much less the necessaries of life, awakens a sympathy in our bosoms of no ordinary feelings. . . . For the disciples to suppose that they can come to this land without ought to eat, or to drink, or to wear. . . . is a vain thought. For them to suppose that the Lord will open the windows of heaven, and rain down angel's food for them by the way, when their whole journey lies through a fertile country, stored with the blessings of life. . . . is also vain. For them to suppose that their clothes and shoes will not wear out upon the journey. . . . is just as vain.\(^1\)

In spite of these complaints it is probable that many Saints had made their consecrations back in Ohio in order to receive a certificate of eligibility. But most of the Saints who came to Missouri before 1833 were so spiritually intoxicated that they had lost all touch with reality. Not only would the Lord "rain down angel's food"; he would also provide them with free land.

* * *

It is clear that the Prophet had made an important tactical error when he first announced that Zion would be a land of milk and honey. But he also made serious mistakes in timing the settlement of Zion. For he sent the Saints to Missouri before he had decided the exact location of the City of Zion; before he made up the Flat; before the Order had enough capital to buy the large tract of land needed for his conception of a "compact" community; before deciding on the secular mode of land tenure for individual Saints; and even before he himself had paid a personal visit to Zion.\(^2\) Moreover, he instructed the Colesville Saints to make their living in Zion by private effort "like unto men." As a result, these and other Saints settled where they could, and it was later very hard to Bishop Partridge to bring them together in one compact city. Not until early 1833, when the publicly owned Seminary Lands near Independence were placed on the market at a reduced price was there a good

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\(^1\)"The Elders Stationed in Zion to the Churches Abroad," a general epistle of Bishop Partridge in \textit{Evening and Morning Star}, July, 1833.

\(^2\)For the Prophet's shifting position on the location and structure of Zion see \textit{D & C}, 52: 1-34; 53: 5; 55: 5-6; and 54: 7-9.
prospect of supplying every Saint with an inheritance and of concentrating
them in one place.

The loosely organized settling of Zion and the chaos of persecution
tempted enemies of the church—and some historians—to assert that the church
as a corporation never owned any land in Jackson county. In 1834, for example,
after the Saints had been driven out of Jackson county, the Prophet, together
with F. G. Williams, Lyman Wight, and other leaders of the church, wrote a let-
ter to the irate citizens of Missouri in which the church leaders asserted
that the Saints owned a large amount of land in Jackson county. The anti-Mormon
citizens replied that not one signer of the letter ever held "earthly title" to
a foot of land in the county. And this judgment seems to be borne out by the
surviving land records of Jackson county. 2

But the signers investigated by the anti-Mormons were mostly easterners
who had received their temporary "inheritances" in Kirtland, Ohio. As for own-
ership of land in the name of Bishop Partridge as trustee for the church, this
kind of ownership had been abandoned by the spring of 1833, after which time
inheritances were owned in fee simple and acquired by private entry.

Evidence that the Saints did own land is incontestable. Bishop Edward
Partridge made his first purchases as early as the fall of 1831, only a few
weeks after the arrival of the first Saints in Zion. In September of that year
Ezra Booth, an apostate and former colleague of the Bishop, exhorted Partridge
to give up his delusion and to "transfer the lands you hold in your hands to

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1 "A Letter to the Brethren in Zion," from Joseph Smith, Kirtland, O.,
Apr. 21, 1833, in the History of the Church, I, 311.

2 See the two letters (June 2, 1834 and June 23, 1834) in E. D. Howe,
Mormonism Unvailed, 167-170 and in the History of the Church, II, 121-122.
The Missourians stated that they had searched for titles issued to Smith and
his co-signers (F. G. Williams, Lyman Wight, Roger Orton, Orson Hyde, and
John S. Carter) in the land registrar's office at Lexington, Missouri (for
Seminary Lands and Township School Lands) and in the Recorder's Office, but
found no titles in either place.
the persons whose money paid for it." Furthermore, as we have seen, Partridge in 1832 owed two hundred dollars on twelve hundred acres of land he had purchased for the church. Finally, in 1833 Partridge, who was no man to lie, stated that "many" of the twelve hundred Saints then in Zion had been planted in their inheritances.

Just how large the inheritances were is hard to ascertain. But all available evidence points to a small farm of rarely more than forty acres and generally averaging about thirty acres. The first ten families to take up their inheritances in Zion had arrived in June, 1831. At that time the United Order had means to purchase only about thirty acres per family and this seems to have become the standard size. The same size farm was to be used for temporary inheritances in Kirtland, but met with too much opposition from wealthier members.

For all the efforts of Partridge to get some mechanics, almost every

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2See above, p. 241.

3See above, p. 244; also the Highland Messenger (Asheville, N. C.), Jul. 30, 1841.

4Exra Booth, "Letter No. 6," in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 196. When Thomas Baldwin Marsh, one of the first Twelve Apostles and a friend of Ezra Thayre, came to Zion in late November, 1832, Bishop Partridge set off for him an inheritance of about 30 acres on the Big Blue river. See also the Highland Messenger (Asheville, N.C.), Jul. 30, 1841. William M’Leallin, another leading elder, received an inheritance of 30 acres. History of the Church, II, 39. Stewardship forms in the Church Historian’s Office, Salt Lake City, show that Levi Jackman received 33 acres and Titus Billings (see Appendix II, below) 27.5 acres. Joseph Knight’s stewardship form has not survived, but his consecration form in the Church Historian’s Office shows that he received only 1.81 acres. Since he was a carpenter and not a farmer, this was all he needed.

The average size of farms in Utah by 1870 was also 30 acres—though not by direct intent. See F. A. W. Taylor and A. J. Arrington, “Religion and Planning,” p. 65, n. 3.

5The Franklin Mercury, June, 1831.
Saint was engaged in farming. Most of those who had come were too poor to live in anything more than small, rude huts upon their arrival. Not having enough money to consecrate for an inheritance from the already overburdened bishop, many of them "hired out" to the gentiles—much to the disgust of United Order leaders in Zion. Some were also able to earn a little money from the church for helping build the Lord's Printing Office and other church structures. Once a Saint had received an inheritance he could not sell it to someone else—even to another Mormon. Unfortunately, this church rule could never be enforced in any secular court.

In spite of the bickering in Zion on the doctrine of inheritances, in spite of the Prophet's ambiguous plans for the building up of Kirtland as a Stake of Zion, in spite of the frequent threat of persecution, the majority of the eastern Saints continued to make and carry out plans to gather in the Land of Promise. And most Saints, in the east and in the west, remained faithful to the communitarian ideals of the United Order of Enoch.

By November, 1833 only the aggressive Lyman Wight, the jealous Colesville Saints, and a few other Mormons still remained in Jackson county. In December, continued mob activity had forced these stragglers to join Partridge, Gilbert, Phelps, and the main body of the Saints across the Missouri river in Clay county. There the Saints barely survived the winter in primitive shelters. In all, the Mormons estimated the damage to their property in Jackson county at $175,000.00.

Since the Kirtland Saints were comparatively few in number and deeply

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2. Letter of an apostate, Salmon Sherwood, to his friends in Fulton county, Mo., dated Independence, Feb. 25, 1833, in the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser (Columbia, Mo.), Apr. 20, 1833; History of the Church, 1, 417, 450, 455.
in debt, they could offer little aid. The Prophet told the persecuted Saints not to sell any of their lands; but, if necessary, they could purchase a tract of land in Clay county and try to reestablish the press there to provide a voice for the church. And the Lord commanded the Saints to resume their land purchases in Zion as soon as they were able, and under no circumstances should they sell the Lord's Storehouse. There could be no thought of abandoning Jackson county, for as the Prophet told the fleeing Saints, this sacred spot of ground was "the place appointed of the Lord for your inheritance, and it is right in the sight of God that you contend for it to the last." He also noted that most of this "goodly land" in Jackson county could be bought for the low price of a dollar and a quarter per acre.

Joseph had prophesied in October, 1833, that Zion would be "chastened for a little season," but eventually redeemed. In December, another, less reassuring, revelation announced that the Gathering would continue. The Saints could hope that God would forgive those members of the church who, by their transgressions, and by their "jarrings and contentions, and enviousings, and strifes, and lustful and covetous desires," had "polluted their inheritances."

But no sooner had the Prophet prophesied—even precisely dated—the day of Zion's redemption than he instituted a drastic reorganization of the dual Order that made Kirtland the real capital of the church. He promised the redemption of Zion, but spent most of his time in building up Kirtland.

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Joseph had, of course, first begun undermining the uniqueness of Zion in 1832, when he made Kirtland the "Stake of Zion" and the eastern partner in

1History of the Church, I, 450-451, 455.
3History of the Church, II, 48.
4D & C, 100.
the United Order. But now, in 1834, he took advantage of the dispersal of the Saints to introduce additional stakes of Zion. In 1832 he had not contemplated the many additional stakes which now began to make up the federal, territorial system of Mormon church government. But the persecutions of the early summer and late fall of 1833 had been disastrous for the doctrine that Zion was a unique place, an indispensable City—the sine qua non of the millennium. These persecutions had halted the Gathering. They had scattered the Saints already gathered in Zion. They had discouraged some converts from leaving peaceful homes in the east. They had made any further distribution of inheritances impossible. They had taken over the Land of Promise and exiled its stewards. In short, they had destroyed the physical basis of Zion and its Order. What was there to do, at least for the moment, but to reorganize church government—to introduce additional stakes of Zion?

Seizing upon the word "stake" originally invented to preserve Kirtland for five years, the Prophet announced that, if necessary, the Lord would appoint stakes, "for the curtains or the strength of Zion." These buffer areas were to be erected just to the east of Jackson county, and would provide safe and holy places for the settlement of the Saints until the day of Zion's redemption. ¹

Supposedly temporary, the additional stakes gradually became a permanent feature of Mormon church government between 1834 and 1838. After 1834 the whole church was divided into stakes, each with a miniature version of the central government of the church. Areas with too few Saints to be admitted as stakes were called "missions." When a mission contained enough believers, it could become a stake—just as a territory of the secular government of the United States could become a state.

Since the introduction of additional stakes weakened the uniqueness of

Jackson county as the Place of Gathering and since it seemed to excuse those who did not choose to settle there, the Prophet was treading dangerous ground. Without the Gathering there could be no real Storehouse, no inheritances, and no life according to the United Order of Enoch. The Prophet seemed to be compromising the divine principle that Zion was the indispensable Center Place, and he was therefore cautious in applying the word "stake" to Mormon settlements other than Kirtland. Gradually, almost imperceptibly, he began to introduce the plural form of "stake" into the revelations. By 1838 the phrase "stakes of Zion" seemed entirely natural to the Saints.¹

During the rapid growth of the church between 1831 and the death of the Prophet in 1844, this more flexible federal system of church government, still infused as it was with the communal ideals of the United Order, made the Mormons the most successful colonizers in the history of the frontier.

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Another step in establishing the primacy of Kirtland was an administrative one. In February, 1831, the Prophet set up the first High Council of the church. This consisted of twelve high priests and a three-man presidency "for the purpose of settling important difficulties which might arise in the church, which could not be settled by the church or the bishop's council to the satisfaction of the parties."² This High Council could not act unless the seven members of a "standing council," that is, a standing quorum, were also present. Zion was also to have such a High Council, presumably equal to, and independent of, the one in Kirtland.

In Kirtland the High Council's president, appointed by revelation, was Joseph Smith. As President of the High Council, Smith had two counselors.

²D & C, 102: 2.
These were Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams, who retained their rank as counselors in the First Presidency of the church as a whole. The twelve high councilors were John Smith, Joseph Coe, John Johnson, Martin Harris, John S. Carter, Jared Carter, Oliver Cowdery, Samuel H. Smith, Orson Hyde, Sylvester Smith, Luke Johnson, and the Prophet’s father. None of these men were community-minded and apparently none had been connected with the Rigdonite Family. ¹

Lest any pious Saints fear for the Order, the very next revelation assured them that Zion would be redeemed and that the law of the Lord would be reestablished. The faithful should continue to gather in Missouri, buying lands on their own initiative. Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight, who had been sent from suffering Zion as special messengers to Kirtland, were commanded not to return to Missouri until they had recruited at least one hundred and preferably five hundred men to go with them. ²

Having promised the redemption of Zion and yet encouraged the growth of new stakes, the Prophet subtly shifted the locus of the millennial kingdom away from Jackson county. And having purged the leadership of the Order by organizing a High Council composed of new, non-communitarian men, the Prophet could now turn to the institutions of the Order itself—in so far as the Order had existed in Kirtland. He now undertook to redistribute the property of the Order in Kirtland in such a manner that it tended to reinforce the semi-permanent status of the eastern branch of the church. This redistribution of property—most of it to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon—was the third step in establishing the primacy of Kirtland.

¹Martin Harris, though he later became a Shaker, disobeyed the property laws of the United Order.

²D & C, 103; History of the Church, II, 1, 39; Lu-B. Cake, Old Mormon Manuscript Found; Peepstone Joe Exposed (New York, 1899), 80. Pratt and Wight had been accompanied by the ambitious but less talented David Whitmer.
Because the redistribution was essentially a power maneuver, it does not make any religious sense. Certainly the shift in ownership did not mean, as is generally believed, that the Prophet dissolved the United Order as a whole. First of all, Kirtland, because of its original status as the "Stake to Zion," never had, and theologically speaking, never could have, a complete set of United Order institutions. There was, for example, no need for a Storehouse in Kirtland, since most consecrations were theoretically destined for the Storehouse of Jackson county. Similarly, although there was a halfhearted attempt at the distribution of landed "inheritances" in Kirtland, such inheritances never covered very much ground and were not considered eternal. In 1833, the entire Mormon population of about one hundred and fifty persons in Kirtland owned little more than a total of four hundred acres of land. The higher land prices of Ohio, the desire of most Saints to go west, and the very definition of Zion as the land of eternal inheritances all militated against the assignment of inheritances in Kirtland.

The only institution that was genuinely part of the United Order in Kirtland was the Mercantile Establishment, or Newel K. Whitney and Company. It was this Mercantile Establishment that was dismantled and not the whole United Order.

Joseph did this on April 23, 1834 by issuing a long revelation bestowing the various properties of the Mercantile Establishment to church leaders in Kirtland. In the very act of destroying what existed of the Order in Kirtland

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1R. Kent Fielding arrived at this figure from calculations based on the Geauga county Tax Duplicates for 1833-37. See "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland," 339.

2The presence of the Printing Firm in Kirtland in 1834 might be considered part of the Kirtland Order, but its removal to Kirtland in the winter of 1833-34 was generally understood to be an emergency measure forced upon the church by the mobs of Jackson county. And though the law of consecration operated in Kirtland, it was directed (before 1834) mainly toward the building up of Zion.
the Prophet continued to use such irrelevant United Order terms as "stewardship," for he could not by his language admit that the Order, a divinely appointed way of life, was being modified. He also continued to use the mysterious names supposedly current in Enoch's time. And now, verily, said the Lord,

Let my servant Pelagorom [Sidney Rigdon] have appointed unto him the place where he now resides, and the lot of the Tahmene [the tannery] for his stewardship, for his support while he is laboring in my vineyard.

... And let all things be done according to the counsel of the order and united consent or voice of the order, which dwell in the land of Shinoah [Kirtland].

As a young man, before he had taken to excoriating the enemies of truth, Rigdon had been a tanner of hides, so the assignment to him of the tannery was entirely fitting. He also received a mill and a one-acre home lot. Joseph, or "Gazlem," received a hundred-and-forty-two-acre farm, the three-acre lot on which his house stood, and another lot on which his father resided.

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1 D & C, 10:4; 20–21 (Apr. 23, 1831). The popular explanation for the substitute names among believing Mormons was that the Prophet feared danger to the persons involved if he used their real names. With the names—supplied by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost—this danger could be avoided and thus several revelations were permitted to appear in print, revelations that "otherwise might have been withheld for many years." Orson Pratt, "Explanation of the Substituted Names in the Covenants," The Seer (Washington, D. C.), II, No. 3 (Mar., 1832), 227–229. Most Mormons believed that the secret name had been used in the Zion of Enoch of old. William West, A Few Interesting Facts Respecting the Rise, Progress and Pretensions of the Mormons (Warren, Ohio, 1837), 13–14. The near secrecy surrounding the United Order only confirmed the common anti-Mormon belief that the Prophet was just another frontier impostor and money-swindler. See the letter of Cyrus Smalley, March 10, 1841, in E. G. Lee (pub.), The Mormons; or Knavery Exposed (Frankford, Phila., Pa., 1841), 13. The Mormons took a kind of Yankee pride in giving enigmatic answers to unwelcome questions. See History of the Church, II, 67, note; and above, p. 106.

2 From the mill he realized about five hundred dollars a year. See "J. E. Stephenson's Statement," newspaper clipping, Chicago Historical Society. One elder Levi Cole had run the tannery in behalf of the church for three years, but it is doubtful that it realized much profit. Rigdon's one-acre lot was deeded to him within a week of the revelation. See the General Index to Deeds, volume II, and the Deed Record Book, XVIII, 487.

3 Originally given to the Order by F. G. Williams.
Bishop Newel K. Whitney was now the sole proprietor (subject to the needs of the church) of the store he had originally owned as an unconverted Campbellite with A. S. Gilbert. Gilbert did not like the new arrangement, for he felt that he had been deprived of his property and found little comfort in the United Order's quasi-communist precepts. But the unhappy Gilbert died only five weeks later.

The revelation divided the rest of the Kirtland Order's property among four other church leaders.

Once again the Prophet's whole démarche in Kirtland in 1834 shows how, to preserve unity, he said one thing and did another. The words of the revelation seemed to indicate that the Order still existed. The revelation paid lip service to the Order by using the words "stewardship," "consecration," and "Order" throughout. It went so far as to call the whole new arrangement "the United Order of the Stake of Zion." Because of the tenacious, abiding faith

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1 The Saints thought that his weak faith had hastened his end; for he had exclaimed just before his death, "I would rather die than go forth to preach the Gospel to the gentiles." After watching him die, gasping horribly, of cholera, one prominent elder remarked, "The Lord took him at his word." The comment came from Heber G. Kimball, who later became first counselor to Brigham Young. See the History of the Church, II, 118.

2 In dealing with the French farm the Prophet made his obeisance to equality with curious results. To Mahemson (Martin Harris), who had money of his own, the revelation gave only one small lot, together with the right to run the hundred-and-three-acre French farm for the benefit of the church in Kirtland. Zambre (John Johnson), who had originally paid off the mortgage of this farm and had given it to the Mercantile Establishment in Kirtland, now retained only the house in which he lived and the eventual right to subdivide the farm. The former Mercantile Establishment, now known only as Newel K. Whitney and Company, still held title to the land. In the end it was this ownership of the title that counted.

Shederiahomach (F. G. Williams) received the farm he lived on and was to share the income of the Laneshine House (Printing Firm) with Olihah (Oliver Cowdery). Olihah got two residential lots, one of them a small farm. Ahashdah (Newel K. Whitney) received four separate lots and all the buildings on them, including Osondah (the building of the Mercantile Establishment) and Shule (the ashery). Most of the title changes involved may be traced in the Deed Record Books of Geauga county, volumes XVIII, XIX, and XXII. The most detailed attempt to describe the changes which took place may be found in R. Kent Fielding, "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland," 336-339.
of his followers in the Order the Prophet had no choice but to use these sacred terms in the revelation, no matter how meaningless they were for the new situation in Kirtland. The Prophet could not discard so basic a law of the Lord as the original United Order revelation.

His deeds, however, did not have to conform to words. Mistakenly assuming that all printed copies of the original United Order revelation had been destroyed by the mobs in Missouri, he secretly doctored the text and published the new version in 1835. No longer, in the new text, would all Saints be required to consecrate "all" their property to the Order, but only as much as they chose. And, as the Prophet wrote some years later, everyone was now "steward over his own." In the west, where the vast majority of the Saints lived in 1834, this revision would be profoundly disturbing: the Mormons on the frontier were more conservative than the Mormons in the east. But very few Saints would learn of the textual changes before 1835.

The most one may say of the April dissolution is that the Prophet was dismantling only the eastern branch of the United Firm, that is, the Kirtland half of the Mercantile Establishment. He was not dissolving the United Order of Zion. The revelation legislated into God's law the results of persecution: the cessation of the Order's operations in Zion and the severance of its connection with Kirtland. This is very clear in two key verses:

And now I say the Lord a commandment I give unto you concerning Zion, that you shall no longer be bound as a united order to your brethren of Zion, only on this wise—

After you are organized you shall be called the United Order of the Stake of Zion, the City of Shiloh. And your brethren, after they are organized, shall be called the United Order of the City of Zion. 3

1 This is also the conclusion of a believing Mormon, Professor R. Kent Fielding, who states that in Kirtland the laws of consecration and stewardship had become a fiction. Cf. "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland," 338.

2 See Appendix II.

And the revelation explicitly stated that the expulsion of the Saints was the reason for severing Kirtland from Zion:

And this I have commanded /said the Lord/ . . . in consequence of the Saints of Jackson county being driven out and [of] that which is to come.

The Prophet had, of course, done nothing about the property of the Order in Zion, and more significantly, even in Kirtland the communitarian economic habits of the church remained remarkably strong. Even after the redistribution of property in Kirtland the church continued to consider property subservient to the interests of the church. Indirectly, through Newel K. Whitney and Company, it still owned the French farm; and any profit that might be made by Martin Harris in operating this farm was to be spent according to the instructions of the Prophet. The former church store (now Newel K. Whitney and Company) and the Printing Firm, although they were now privately managed, were inextricably bound up with the whole economy of Kirtland. The Printing Firm continued as an arm of the church and the store became the clearinghouse for church buildings, for church supplies, and for church purchases made over the next three or four years. In short, the former Mercantile Establishment of the United Firm now became what the revelation called a "treasury." The former head of the Mercantile Establishment, Bishop Newel K. Whitney, was chief treasurer after Smith.

The treasury paid off church debts, financed the building of the temple, subsidized more printing, paid the Prophet's scribe, and so on. Donations to the church—still called "consecrations"—now went to the treasury. Profits from the printing of sacred books, formerly the inheritance of W. W. Phelps, also went into the common church treasury.

¹ For these reasons it is misleading to say that the church now legally "owned no property in Kirtland." See R. Kent Fielding, "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland," 339.
The first task of those in charge of the treasury would be to stave off the debt collectors who were then dunning the church in Kirtland. The Lord commanded them to search out loans for the treasury:

Therefore write speedily to Cainhannoch [New York]... and I will soften the hearts of those to whom you are in debt, that it shall be taken away out of their minds to bring affliction... Inasmuch as you obtain a chance to loan money by hundreds, or thousands, even until you shall loan enough to deliver yourself from bondage, it is your privilege.  

On this enterprising note the important "dissolution" revelation ended. The Mercantile Establishment and the United Firm of which it had been a part in Kirtland now became the common treasury of the church. This treasury was the half-way house between the quasi-communist United Order of 1831 and the capitalistic commercial bank the Prophet was to establish in the winter of 1836-37.

The significance of these three steps is that by late 1834 the Prophet had brought the vigorous growth of his millennial community under control. By the first step, the federal stake-system of government, he had weakened the centrality of Zion—the capital of the United Order. Secondly, by expanding and reorganizing his administration of the church he was able to take ultimate control of the Order from Bishop Partridge in Zion and distribute it among various leaders—some of whom disliked the communitarian way. Finally, he redistributed the property of the Order in Ohio and thus established the primacy of Kirtland until 1838, when the gentiles drove him out. These three steps involved compromises of principle that were never completely accepted by the church.

Suspended in Zion and drastically modified in Kirtland, the United Order of Enoch, God's millennial plan, seemed at an end. But it would survive with surprising vitality over the next four years, and when its institutions ceased to operate after 1838, its communitarian ideals lived on to inspire new forms of church enterprise and land settlement.

\[1\] D & C, 104: 81, 84.
Between 1834 and 1838, and indeed right down to his death, the Prophet worked to wean his followers away from obstinate dreams of Zion. Until about 1835 he continued to speak of the importance of Zion and its Order. But as it became more and more apparent after 1834 that the Saints would never be able to recover their millennial homes, he became less and less anxious to reassert the permanency of Zion.

In 1834, as we have seen, he expanded the number of stakes. In 1835 and 1836 he made grandiose plans for the expansion of Kirtland. In 1837, in describing the persecution of 1833, he merely referred to Jackson county as "what was then called Zion." In 1838 he taught the Saints that the counties to which they had fled—north and east of Jackson county—were also sacred places. In one of these counties Adam himself had lived after his expulsion from Eden, which, in turn, had once been located in Jackson county. After 1838 the Prophet never showed any inclination to recover Jackson county—paradise lost—and he studiously avoided the use of the word Zion in the sense of a particular place.

The Prophet's contradictory behavior—the disjunction between word and deed, the secret attempt to betray the Order—does not necessarily mean that he was an insincere, deceiving charlatan given to deluding his credulous backwoods followers. His turgid evasiveness in the face of demands like those concerning land tenure, his revision of the revelations, his redefinition of goals to suit circumstances, his scores of high-flown contradictions and tautologies, his suppression of unpleasant truths—all these and similar practices were overlooked by his followers or excused as in themselves divinely inspired and not to be questioned. Smith was, in a sense, a religious trimmer forever glued to circumstances. For him the trimming ("I the Lord now rescind.") was always

1History of the Church, I, 335.
subservient to higher powers and thus sanctified in the eyes of all but the most critical of the Saints. He himself was incapable of distinguishing between principle and expediency. He had a powerful desire for the success of his movement and an enormous faith in the will of his followers to believe. In the end he seems to have persuaded himself that principle and expediency were identical.

In the irectic temper of the mid-twentieth century the analysis of religious motivation is an especially delicate matter. But there is such a thing as self-delusion. And although the Prophet may be held guilty of outright deception in his few surreptitious attempts to revise some previous revelations, he could even come to believe that such manipulations were inspired by the Holy Spirit.

The most dispassionate recent historians of Mormonism still seem to leave the impression that Joseph was a charlatan who gullled the ignorant. This almost inevitable tendency leads to curious oversimplifications of early Mormon history. The most important such oversimplification is the almost universal judgment that Joseph, taking advantage of the de facto dissolution of Zion as of the late fall of 1833, decided on April 10, 1834, to dissolve the United Order as well, and thus to banish forever the communitarian element in his movement.

That the whole United Order was dissolved in one day is a misconception traceable to a cryptic sentence in the Prophet's History:

On the 10th we had a council of the United Order, in which it was agreed that the Order should be dissolved, and each one have his stewardship set off to him.¹

In placing this isolated statement into the context of Joseph's career Mrs. Fawn M. Brodie, the only adequate historian of early Mormonism, was led to

¹History of the Church, II, 49.
accept it literally. Her otherwise judicious explanation of the end of the
Order demands extended quotation:

Joseph's enthusiasm for the United Order was always tempered by the
fact that it was Rigdon's conception. It is doubtful if he realized in
the beginning how much added power such a system automatically thrust
into his hands . . . .

In the Missouri debacle Joseph now saw a chance to erase the whole eco-

nomic experiment—which in Kirtland had never yielded anything but
trouble—and at the same time make a concession to the gentile world
. . . . On April 10, 1831 the Kirtland council dissolved the Order.
Dividing the community property was a thorny business. Tired of quibbling
and recriminations, Joseph finally resorted to a revelation to parcel out
the real estate, deeding himself the temple lot, Rigdon the tannery, Cow-
dery the printing shop, and most of the other leaders the lots on which
they were then living . . . . He substituted fictitious names to avoid
any unpleasantness . . . .

From this moment Joseph began to efface the communistic rubric in his
young theology . . . and commanded his missionaries to destroy the notion
abroad that the church had ever been a common stock concern.

Although Rigdon repeatedly urged a restoration, Joseph made only one
effort to revive the Order after 1834. This was the greatly revised con-
secration program that he launched in Missouri in 1838.1

Joseph was probably motivated less by jealousy of Sidney Rigdon than by his own
entrepreneurial avarice, by his antipathy to the "common stock" system favored
by Rigdon.2 But more important, it may be said without further ado that the
United Order did not disappear on April 10, 1834. This misconception is a

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1Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 108, 111-112.

2As I have indicated above, it is doubtful that Joseph was a cynical
charlatan looking for the main chance to "erase the whole economic experiment." In
the first place, the United Order of Enoch was not merely an economic sys-
tem and certainly not an "experiment." It was the chief instrument, theologi-
cally conceived, divinely revealed, and devoutly believed, for the gathering
in of the Elect and the building up of the millennial City of Zion in the last
days. In the second place, for all the naturalistically interpreted motives
in the mind of Joseph—his concession to the gentiles, his jealousy of Rigdon,
his avoidance of squabbling—one cannot gainsay the existence of sincere reli-
gious belief, both in Joseph and among the Saints.

Moreover, there is some doubt that the Prophet used a revelation (with
fictitious names) as a last resort to avoid recriminations in the distribution
of church properties in Kirtland. And these properties were not all clear gain
for the recipients. The temple lot, for example, which Joseph deeded to him-
self was still not paid for. See History of the Church, II, 35, and R. Kent
natural one, considering the redistribution of United Order property in Kirtland. But the simple fact is that the Prophet, in his short allusion to dissolution, was speaking of the United Order in Kirtland and only in Kirtland. The Order in all its fulness was applicable mainly to Zion, of which Kirtland was theologially, if not materially, only a "stake." Although the Prophet tried in his revelations to expunge certain quasi-communist aspects of the Order, he never declared the Order as a whole to be dead. To do so would have been to deny the millennial doctrine of Zion.

Since the Prophet could not easily un-teach what he had taught from 1831 to 1834, he continued to preach publicly on the primacy of Zion and its Order until about 1835. Just before and just after the so-called dissolution of the Order he reaffirmed in revelations and letters the doctrines of consecration, of gathering into Zion, and of stewardship. Eleven days after the supposed dissolution he told a conference in Ohio:

Take away the Book of Mormon and the revelations, and where is our religion? We have none; for without Zion, and a place of deliverance, we must fall; because the time is near when the sun will be darkened, the moon turn to blood, and the stars fall from heaven, and the earth reel to and fro.

And in the very revelation assigning the property of the Order—in Kirtland only—to several individuals there occurred this clear verse upholding the Order:

... If any man shall take of the abundance which I have made and impart not his portion, according to the law of my gospel (i.e., the laws of consecration and stewardship), unto the poor and needy, he shall, with the wicked, lift up his eyes in hell, being in torment.

1D & C, 100: 13-17 (Oct. 12, 1833); 101: 13-23, 67-77, 96-101 (Dec. 16, 1833); 103: 1, 7-20, 22-24, 29-35 (Feb. 24, 1834); 104: 11-18 (Apr. 23, 1834); and 105: 3-5, 28-30, 31 (Jun. 22, 1834). Cf. History of the Church, II, 39, 49, 52-53, 115, 173. Gradually, however, as I have pointed out above (p. the Prophet tried to rid himself of Zion as the focal point of gathering and millennial salvation under the Order. An interesting example of the profound concern of the Saints over the possible cessation of the Gathering may be found in the History of the Church, II, 39.

2History of the Church, II, 52.

3D & C, 104: 18.
As late as 1835 and 1836 he called the Gathering "one of the most important points in the faith of the Church of the Latter-day Saints." 1

In his own heart the Prophet probably wanted to suppress the Order and tried to do so more than once before 1834. But he always yielded to his followers' love for the Order. When the Order got in the way of his plans for expanding Kirtland, he resorted to such indirect devices as the United Firm or the introduction of stakes as curtains to Zion. Earlier in his career he tended to clothe such expediential changes with the sanctity of a revelation. But after the first printings of his revelations in 1833 and 1835, he learned the great danger of using revelation too often. The Word of the Lord, once it appeared in print, froze him in one theological position; it became an article of faith. And in his public role as a prophet Joseph had to preach a theology that was consistent with the Word of the Lord as revealed to him.

After 1835 the Prophet turned to revelation much less as a means of suppressing the Order. Instead, he worked against it privately and indirectly. Publicly, he gradually softened or avoided references to Zion and its Order till by 1843 he had actually convinced himself that neither had ever existed as important doctrines. 2

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1History of the Church, II, 260, 357.

2For Zion see above, 157-159, 212. For his abrogation of the Order (referred to as "common stock") and stewardship see History of the Church, VI, 37.
CHAPTER VII

THE PERSISTENCE OF MORMON COMMUNITARIANISM

IN FAR WEST AND NAUVOO

Palpable as are the absurdities of Mormonism it is a system which possesses some elements of strength and extension . . . . It is also worthy of remark, that the success of Joseph Smith appears to warrant a system of emigration and settlement conducted on religious principles. The notorious Owen, as is well known, attempted the establishment of an infidel community at New Harmony, in Indiana, and totally failed. Joseph Smith . . . has triumphantly succeeded.

—Henry Caswell (1842)

Joseph Smith never convinced the more pious Saints—those in Missouri—that the United Order was a thing of the past. The westerners were disturbed at his actions in Kirtland. How could he build up Kirtland and still extoll the future of a suffering Zion? How could he continue to live in the east and still preach the primacy of Independence, Missouri?

Partly to forestall such thoughts and to reassure the Saints that the millennial City of Zion was still central to the church, Joseph decided to visit Zion in person and thus share the dangers of his brethren. The Lord had promised the redemption of Zion, and Joseph was not one to sit and wait for miracles. In May, 1834, he took up arms with the hope of redeeming Zion by a show of force. But this foray—"Zion's Camp" it was called—only insured the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson county. This ended in the permanent loss of Zion and thus the whole physical and theological basis of the United Order of Enoch.

After 1834 the United Order took on a life of its own, a life that had begun in those exciting days in 1830–31 when the Prophet had unwillingly adapted his movement to Rigdonism by revealing "a more perfect law," a life that no
action of his could ever entirely extinguish. For several years after 1834 the Prophet tried to kill the Order by encouraging private enterprise and by reassigning or purging its more enthusiastic proponents. He even tried to emasculate it by secretly revising the Word of God as contained in the original United Order revelation. But perhaps no one saw more clearly than the Prophet himself that he could not do away with the United Order. "Words outlast ideas and ideas the conditions that gave rise to them," as Sir Louis Namier has said.

Even the distinguished biographer of the Prophet was constrained to qualify her assertion that the Order was dissolved with the remark: "During Joseph's lifetime, however, there was never a return to complete freedom of enterprise." Nor, one might add, was there any such return after Joseph's lifetime—in the Utah of Brigham Young. Indeed, the first four years of Mormon history as a communitarian sect left on the church an indelible mark which has remained clearly visible for over a century and a half.

Between the expulsion of the Saints from Zion in 1834 and the death of their Prophet in 1844, Mormon communitarianism obstinately persisted both as ideal and as reality; for Joseph respected the Order enough to allow much of it to be practiced in modified form. Wealth was still communally controlled; sacred writings were still communally financed; the Mercantile Establishment

1F. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, II:2.

2According to the revelation dissolving the United Order in Kirtland the "stewards" were to "do business" in their own names (D & C, 10:4: L8-50). Yet, Cowdery received the stewardship over certain city lots in Kirtland to be sold by him "according to the counsel of the order" and for the benefit of the church—certainly a communal feature. (D & C, 10:4: 36.) The wealthy Martin Harris was once again called upon to donate his "surplus." (D & C, 10:4: 26; cf. D & C, 58: 35, 38.) In the distribution of United Order properties in Kirtland Oliver Cowdery and Newel K. Whitney merely received what they had already been administering under the Order and made very little profit for themselves. The "council of the Prophet, Rigdon, et al., and voice of the order" decreed two communal treasuries. (D & C, 10:4: 69-72.) And finally, consecration was still enjoined (D & C, II:2: 29-31) and still continued in practice.
was only in abeyance; the practice of consecration was retained, though not rigorously; the Storehouse in Kirtland was becoming the "treasury" of the church; Independence, Jackson county, Missouri, was still to be the capital of Zion; and finally, lest Mormon communitarianism be thought of as merely an economic system, it must be recalled that the doctrine of polygamy was just beginning about 1835 and the millennial spirit of the church was still powerful.

Faced with the continued power of the United Order over the minds of the Saints after 1834, the Prophet gradually took the position that the Order was now only postponed: that it would one day be gloriously restored in Jackson county, Missouri. This new position was fully articulated by late 1838, when the Missourians climaxd their last and bloodiest persecution of the Saints by murdering some nineteen Mormons at Haun's Mill, Caldwell county, a few miles from Far West. The Missourians then arrested the Prophet on trumped up charges of treason and thrust him into Liberty jail, in Liberty, Clay county. From this prison in December, 1838, Joseph wrote to Bishop Partridge, his "divider of inheritances," to advise him on sundry matters. Partridge had asked the Prophet how the Saints, then being driven out of Caldwell, should be resettled. Conditions were so chaotic and the Saints so dispersed that not even a modification of small United Order communities could be contemplated. There was also some question whether the laws of the Lord still applied when the Saints were settling outside of Jackson county, the Center Place of Zion.

1Polygamy should be mentioned as another communitarian institution if only because it is interpreted in almost every other way. There is no need to cite the vast and sometimes obscene literature or to refute any of its bizarre claims. Suffice it to say that polygamy was first of all typically communitarian in that very many communitarian sects experimented with sex and marriage: from the free sharing of sexual favors in the "complex marriage" of the Perfectionists of Oneida to the extreme celibacy of the Shakers. Moreover, polygamy reflects the cooperative element in the Mormon ethos. In one of their earliest denials of polygamy the Mormons themselves associated it with the communitarian practice of "having all things in common." Evening and Morning Star, I, 48 (Aug., 1832); II, 168 (Mar., 1833). And eventually Mormon polygamy was swallowed up in the idea of "cooperation." See below, p. 280.
In replying the Prophet suggested that it was proper for the Saints to settle wherever they wished in this emergency and not necessarily in compact cities:

[We suggest] the propriety of the brethren settling in such places where they may find safety, which may be in Kirtland and Far West; it will be necessary to do so for the present, until God shall open out a more effectual door. Again we would suggest that their [sic] be no organization of large bodies upon common stock principles, until the Lord shall signify it in a proper manner, as it opens such a field for the avaricious, the indolent, and the corrupt hearted, to prey upon the virtuous, the industrious, and the honest. We have reason to believe that many things were introduced among the Saints, before God had signified the time, and notwithstanding the principles and the plans may have been good, yet aspiring men, who had the form of godliness, but not the substance, by their aspiring notions brought trouble both upon themselves and the Saints at large. However, the time is coming when God will signify many things which are expected, for the well-being of the Saints. 

This remanding of the More Perfect Law of the Lord to some future time states in effect that the Saints were not yet spiritually ready for it: a position that has since remained the official doctrine of the Mormon church.

It is more likely that the Prophet was once more taking advantage of the chaos of persecution to rid himself of the Order ("common stock"). He doubtless recalled that just a few months earlier, after excommunicating the economic individualists with the help of the Danites, he nearly lost control to the Danites themselves—whose fanatical leaders were former Family men like Sidney Rigdon and Lyman Wight. He feared that these communist dissidents might exploit his imprisonment to organize "large bodies upon common stock principles" before "the Lord shall signify it." But among the many things which God signified for the future were the decline of Mormon millennialism, the rise of cooperation, and ultimately the end of the Order.

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2 The Prophet always left himself a loophole. "For the present," he said (in the above quotation), any extreme levelling must await "proper" instructions—which can only be revealed after Joseph's release from jail. For further evidence of Joseph's postponement of total consecrations ("common stock") see History of the Church, IV, 93.
It is thus a mistake to say that in the late 1830's the Prophet repudiated all communitative economics. To be sure, until he died no one tried to organize a compact United Order community; it was hard to consecrate all one's property to the church when God seemed to be dooming the Saints rather than the gentiles. But in Far West, Caldwell county, Missouri (1836-40) and in Nauvoo, Illinois (1840-46) the numerous communitarians in the church began to look with favor upon a program of economic cooperation.

The rise of cooperation in the Mormon church apparently took place independently of the Prophet's leadership, for until 1838 he was still in Ohio. But in view of his activities in the east he could only have been sympathetic to the new cooperative ideas. In 1836-37 he had been very busy founding a commercial bank for the church: the Kirtland Safety Society. This bank was a cooperative venture in the "functional," or social, rather than in the economic sense of the word; for it was, like most Mormon cooperatives, a church-controlled joint stock corporation established for the benefit of the Kingdom of the Saints.

The assets of the Kirtland Safety Society, like those of hundreds of other wildcat banks that mushroomed during the speculative craze of the middle 1830's, were purely putative. And like its sister banks of the time it immediately collapsed in the Panic of 1837. The end came quickly in late 1837 amidst a whirlwind of recriminations and mass apostasy that destroyed the Mormon town of Kirtland forever. Hearing the cry of his suffering people in Missouri and facing a series of bankruptcy suits in Ohio, the Prophet left Kirtland under cover of night and was henceforth committed to the West for good.

Upon his arrival in Far West with Sidney Rigdon in March, 1838 the

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1F. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 220, 263, 278. Nor is it true, as I have already pointed out, that the old United Order was "revived" (ibid., 220) in Far West, Missouri.
Prophet faced a situation that uncomfortably resembled the one he had just escaped; the cloven foot of capitalism was kicking up a good deal of dissension. The resettlement of the Saints in Clay and Caldwell counties had tempted the more avaricious among them to speculate on the inflation of land prices in this new area.

For as hope for a return to Jackson county waned in the summer of 1835, most of the Saints began to settle in Caldwell county, where, by 1836, their growing numbers and great industry brought on the inevitably rapid rise in land prices. In and around Far West the price of one acre went from a dollar twenty-five an acre to ten dollars an acre within a few months.

Succumbing in the winter of 1836-37 to the time-honored Western custom of reaping profits from the unearned increment, two leading members of the church, W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer, "entered the town plot ... and some other lands in their own names"—even though Far West had been laid out according to the egalitarian flat of the City of Zion. Their almost blasphemous arrogance could never succeed, and the two men were immediately forced to turn these lands over to the church. The more truculent Whitmer, who soon after left the church, continued to hold out, insisting that he wished "to control my own property" and to "be governed by the laws of the land" and not the law of the church.

1Brigham H. Roberts, Missouri Persecutions (Salt Lake City, 1900), 174-175.

2John Corrill, Brief History of the Church, 27-28. Phelps and Whitmer were among the "dissenters" of Far West. For a complete account of the dissenters based on the "Reed-Peck Manuscript" and the unexpurgated ms. of John Whitmer's "History of the Church" see F. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 212-224.

3Correspondence, Orders, etc., in Relation to the Disturbance with the Mormons and the Evidence given before the Hon. Austin A. King ... in a criminal court of inquiry, begun November 12, 1838, on the trial of Joseph Smith, Jr., and others, for high treason and other crimes against the state (Published by order of the General Assembly, Fayette, Missouri, 1841.), 139. (Hereinafter cited as Correspondence, Orders, etc.)
Joseph lost little time in trying to restore the spirit and substance of the Saints with curative revelations, an effort bitterly resisted by the "dissenters" who had come to the fore during his absence. But within a few weeks after his arrival he was able to disperse John Whitmer and other leading dissenters and capitalists with the aid of a kind of bloodthirsty pressgang called the "Danties," who apparently wanted the United Order reestablished. At the same time he was careful not to give too much aid and comfort to those who wished to revive the Order in its pristine form. (He did not, however, disdain old-fashioned consecrations of property from those who still wished to make them.) By these acts he was marking out a loose middle way between the quasi-communism of the Order and the extreme capitalism of the speculators.

By July, 1838 the Prophet was ready to take over the incipient co-operative movement and use it to avoid the extremes of private capitalism and Christian communism. But cooperatives required capital and if the church were to remain self-sufficient—now all-important in the increasingly hostile gentile world—the capital must come from the Saints themselves. To acquire the necessary capital the Prophet issued two far-reaching revelations on July 8, 1838: one encouraging a revival of consecrations and the other announcing the new law of tithing.

The revival of consecrations was not a revolutionary measure. For although the United Order had ceased operations in 1834, a few pious Saints had been making consecrations of all their property between 1834 and 1838. In need of finances, the Prophet was exploiting this old communitarian piety among his followers and appealed to them in language that was very similar to that of the United Order revelation of 1831.

This revelation (together with another issued the same day) has been lost since the death of the Prophet, but its contents were remembered by one Elder John D. Lee. Lee, who did not join the Mormons until 1838, recalled
(somewhat inaccurately) in a book published in 1877 that in early July, 1838,
Joseph made known the "substance" of a revelation he had received:

It was to the effect that all the Saints throughout the land were
required to sell their possessions, gather all their money together, and
send an agent to buy up all the land in the region round about Far West,
and get a patent for the land from the Government then deed it over to
the Church; then every man should come up there to the land of their
promised inheritance and consecrate what they had to the Lord. In return
the Prophet would set apart a tract of land for each Saint—the amount to
correspond with the number of the Saints family—and this land should be
for each Saint an everlasting inheritance. In this way the people could,
in time, redeem Zion (Jackson County) without shedding blood... unless
this was done... the Saints would be driven from State to State... leaving but a remnant... to receive their inheritance in Zion (Jackson
County) in the Last Days."

The validity of Lee's description has been rejected, because it does not
harmonize with the testimony of others. Supposedly the Prophet issued only the
law of tithing on July 8, 1838, while Lee seems to be describing the older law
of consecration and stewardship. But the Prophet was quite capable of using
both laws to acquire capital: he never tormented himself over inconsistent
revelations.

1John D. Lee, Mormonism Unvailed (Lewisburgh, Pa., 1882), 52-53, 60-62.
Italics in the original. (Also published in St. Louis, 1877.) The quoted sen-
tences from Lee and Corrill (below, p. 274) have a special value in that only
three of Joseph's Far West revelations have survived.

2See the History of the Church, III, 44. Professor Leonard J. Arrington
asserts that there is no convincing evidence that the lost revelations were
concerned with economic matters and takes Mrs. Fawn M. Brodie to task for assum-
ing that the lost revelations contemplated a revival of the United Order. Arrin-
ton, "Early Mormon Communitarianism," 361, note 71; Brodie, No Man Knows My His-
tory, 220.

Certainly Mrs. Brodie is misleading, as I have myself pointed out (above,
p. 274), in speaking of the revival of the United Order in "modified form." She
based her assumption on the description of the lost revelations in John D. Lee's
Mormonism Unvailed (Lewisburgh, Pa., 1882), 52-53, 60-62, which I have just
quoted. Arrington terms Lee's account "somewhat garbled," and concludes that
one cannot precisely ascertain the status of the law of consecration in 1838.

If Mrs. Brodie assumed too much, Professor Arrington assumed too little.
For the testimony of Lee is somewhat corroborated by that of Bishop John Cor-
rill, which I have quoted below (p. 274). And Mrs. Arrington herself cites evi-
dence that at least one faithful churchman, Joseph Holbrook, understood the law
in 1838 to require consecration in the old sense of 1831. Arrington, "Early
Mormon Communitarianism," 360, note 69, citing Holbrook's diary, I, 21-22.
Mrs. Brodie also relied on corroborative evidence from William Swartzell, Mormonism
Exposed, 23 and the "Reed Peck Manuscript." See also D & C, 119, 120.
That Lee's testimony is reliable appears from a curious detail that he
could not have invented: the Saints voted on whether to accept this revelation
"from God." The unanimous affirmative vote was "a show of hands, but not a show
of hearts." The majority felt that "their money was as safe in their own pos-
session as it was when held by the Church authorities . . . . (They would)
vote to please the priesthood, then act to suit themselves." 1

This attempt to drum up consecrations to finance the cooperatives was
at best nostalgic. 2 Under the United Order Joseph had ruled that each con-
secrating Saint was to be the judge of how much surplus he enjoyed. As a result,
in 1838, as in 1831, some Saints were less than generous. As Brigham Young
pointed out in his vigorous way, a consecrated cow was likely to be one that
"would kick a person's hat off, or eyes out, or the wolves had eaten off her
teats." 3 The generosity enjoined by the Lord was better suited to the secure
and peaceful City of the millennial dream than to the hounded settlements of
Caldwell county. By 1838 neither the solvency of the Saints nor their spirit
of self-sacrifice were adequate for the demands of consecration. But although
not all the Saints understood or obeyed the new law, the bishop of Far West soon
accumulated enough property to begin using it for the benefit of the community.

The attempted revival of consecration was the result of pressure from
such leading Danites as Lyman Wight and Sidney Rigdon, who had been members of
the communist Family of Kirtland in 1831. The economic future of Mormonism

1 John D. Lee, Mormonism Unveiled, 62, 64.

2 After 1838 English converts in England readily consecrated "all" or
"off" their property. In return they received certificates which stated that
they were church members in good standing. But this money was not available
to the church in Far West until they were driven out of Missouri in the spring
of 1839.


4 History of the Church, III, 47-48; Brigham Young, "Eleventh General
was shaped, however, not by the law of consecrations, but by the companion law of July, the law that inaugurated tithing.

In its egalitarian force this "inferior law" of tithing closely resembled the older law of consecration:

Verily, thus saith the Lord, I require all their surplus property to be put into the hands of the bishop of my church in Zion, for the building of mine house, and for the laying of the foundation of Zion and for the priesthood, and for the debts of the Presidency of the Church. And this shall be the beginning of the tithing of my people. And after that, those who have been tithed shall pay one-tenth of all their interest annually . . . . Verily I say unto you, it shall come to pass that all those who gather unto the land of Zion shall be tithed of their surplus properties, and shall observe this law.  

The "all" of consecrated surplus seems to be required here. But this was a sop to the old Christian communists; for tithing soon afterwards became a simple tenth of one's annual salary. The tithing revelation of July 8 effectively allayed the extremism of the Danites and their allies, who during the recent Fourth of July celebration had pushed for a vote on consecration. And three weeks before the start of tithing these same advocates of consecration had applauded a fanatical tirade by Sidney Rigdon directed in part against the non-consecrating dissenters. For the time being the Prophet still intended to make his followers economically equal and still invested the collected monies in communal projects.

In Far West communal enterprise took the form of building a temple and of organizing agricultural and manufacturing cooperatives. Because of persecution the temple never rose above its foundations, but at least one class of cooperatives—the agricultural "firms"—operated successfully before the removal

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2On 17 June 1838 Rigdon gave his famous "salt sermon," raving that the dissenters had "lost their savour" and should be trampled under foot. (Correspondence, Orders, etc., 110, 111, 117, et passim.) He also sent them a threatening letter soon after, (Ibid., pp. 103-06) and spewed forth a long speech calling for the blood of dissenters and persecutors. (History of the Church, II, 157-65 [Lamoni, Iowa, 1908; not in the Salt Lake City edition].)
to Illinois. The cooperatives of Far West were apparently an alternative to
the strict enforcement of the law of tithing. In 1839, John Corrill, an apo-
satee who had been a bishop in Far West just a few months before, wrote down
about as much as is known about them:

Some have been led to give up all of their surplus, while others
have been backward, which has caused the leaders at times, to resort to
other means of obtaining money to carry on their operations. From some
they would borrow, promising to pay again, others they would stimulate to
liberality by promising them blessings and prosperity in the name of the
Lord in their business and future prospects; thus, many, from time to
time, have lost their property and become dissatisfied, until a great
many have lost confidence in their leaders. Shortly after the Danites
became organized, they set out to enforce the law of consecration; but
this did not amount to much. Then they undertook another plan, in which
Doctor Arverd /Dr. Sampson Avery/ was very officious and forward, viz.:
to constitute large firms, so that every male member of the Church could
become a member of the firm. Every man was to put in all his property by
leasing it to the firm for a term of years; overseers or managers were to
be chosen from time to time by members of the firm, to manage the con-
cerns of the same, and the rest were to labor under their direction. In
the division of profits, more regard was to be paid towards the needs and
wants of the members, than to the amount of stock put in. Many joined
these firms, while many others were much dissatisfied with them, which
casted considerable feeling and excitement in the Church. Smith said
every man must act his own feelings, whether to join or not, yet great
exertions were used, and especially by Doctor Avery, to persuade all to
join.1

This general description is amplified in a few letters that reflect the strong
hopes of the Saints. Writing in 1838 one "Brother Winchester" noted the fol-
lowing:

Permanent arrangements are now making for constant employment for both
Male & Female by the operation of Church firms which are about being
extensively established. The members lease all their real estate (save
their City lots) to the firm to which they belong, for a term of years,
from 10 to 99 without any consideration or interest. Personal estate is
put in on nearly the same condition. Every member that joins is to put
in all he has over & above his needs and wants for his present steward-
ship; in all cases each person is morally bound to pay his honest debts
before leasing. The calculation is for the Brethren to dwell in the City
& cultivate the land in the vicinity in fields many miles in extent or
from city to city. The Brethren own most of Caldwell county. Most of it
is or probably will be leased to the firms.

City lots are owned by the Bishop of the Church until sold for private
stewardship. All kinds of necessary articles will soon be manufactured

1Brief History of the Church, 46.
by these firms that we may be under no necessity of purchasing of our enemies. The firms furnish constant employment for all who join them and pay $1.00 per day for a man's work. Any surplus that may remain after paying the demands of the firm is to be divided according to the needs and wants (Not according to the property invested) to each family, annually or oftener if needed. The firms have put in very large lots of wheat this fall but the season for sowing is nearly over, and the brethren will soon go to building up the City . . . . The operation of these firms enables a man to get a comfortable house in a very few days . . . paid for by a man's own labor day for day.

Arrangements will soon be made that a person can get every necessary . . . at the store house of the firms, and the best part of it all is that they want no better pay than labor. 1

There were obviously many elements of the old United Order in these cooperatives: economic equality, church welfare, communal use of property. But the firms represented a movement away from the more orthodox religious communitarian practice of communism, like that of the Shakers, to the more adaptable secular communitarian joint stock system, like that of the Fourierites. While there was some investment of property, there was also an investment of labor: a reminder that at this time Louis Blanc, a French utopian socialist, was busy propagandizing for cooperatives based on the economic value of labor in his Organisation du travail (1839).

Only one type of corporation—the "Big Field United Firms," or agricultural cooperatives—could be organized before the expulsion of the Saints from Far West in the spring of 1839. Each of these firms, or communal farms, covered about seven thousand acres; eventually the church hoped to buy all the land in Caldwell county with consecrated funds. The communal farms—"many miles in extent from city to city"—were only the first of four special types of corporation. Aided and abetted by Sidney Rigdon, the Prophet also planned to set up "firms" for mechanics, shopkeepers, and laborers.

2Tbid. See also William Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, 24.
3History of the Church, II, 524, II, 63-64; Elder's Journal, I, 36-38 (Jul., 1838).
In 1831 the Lord had commanded the Saints to consecrate all of their property. Then in 1834, Joseph had deemed partial consecrations more practical and flexible. Now, in 1838, the persecuted Saints, having been shorn of almost all their fluid capital, having lost all the funds in their "treasuries," and having retained only the real value of their labor, turned to the cooperative firms as the most expedient communal instrument of the Lord. Not Jesus Christ but the "mobocrats of Missouri" had descended upon Independence and taken possession of Zion. This and the subsequent hostility of the Missourians in 1836 and 1838 forced the Saints to revise their communitarian ways.

The lacunae in Mormon scripture, together with the ephemeral career of Far West, make it impossible to state exactly how the new economic system worked. Whatever the lost revelations may have stated it is evident that in practice not consecrations but cooperatives were to predominate. Tithing by 1841 became tithing in its usual, gentile sense. And it was to be used mainly for building the Nauvoo temple. Even for this simple kind of contribution the "backward" Saints had to be reminded that "their tithings and consecrations are required from what they have, and not what they expect to have sometime hence." When, on 20 April 1839 the last of the Saints had left Far West for Nauvoo, cooperatives and the principle of distributing property according to capacity and need were ready to take over.

The new lands in Nauvoo were purchased in part with Missouri lands and in part by the sale of lands of eastern converts. Joseph laid the city out according to the Plat, set the price of city lots at five hundred dollars apiece, planned a hotel to be built by joint stock financing, and in general assumed

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autocratic control. Penniless, newly converted farmers could raise crops on
great communal farms just outside the city. Finally, Joseph laid new emphasis
on industrialization. He formed, with the help of new English converts, the
Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, a kind of economic trust
controlling, among other things, flour mills, saw mills, and a china factory.

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The severe limitations imposed upon the length of this chapter of the
dissertation do not permit any description of the cooperatives of Nauvoo between
1840 and 1846. But the historical forces that continued to play upon Mormon
communitarianism after 1840 are too central to be omitted. These forces were
mainly European. For though cooperation had its roots in early Mormon communi-
tarianism and though it was encouraged by conditions in Missouri, it became a
powerful part of the Mormon ethic as a result of the zealous Mormon missionary
efforts in Scandinavia and Britain.

The great majority of all the converts to Mormonism after 1837 came
from Britain and Scandinavia—the chosen "north countries," as many pious Saints
believed, originally founded by the Ten Lost Tribes. England and Norway, which
provided most of the converts between 1837 and 1850, were becoming at this time
the leading nations of the cooperative movement.

The cooperative movement in England had its roots in the mid-eighteenth
century. After many years of false starts and hard struggles the movement came
to fruition between the late 1830's and the late 1840's with the establishment
in 1844 of the famous Rochdale cooperative. These were, of course, the very
years in which the Mormon missionaries were most active in Britain, and several

1D & C, revelation of 19 Jan. 1841; H. C. Leavitt, The City of the Mormons,
13-15, 18, 35, 84-37; F. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 263.

2The following account of the effect of foreign converts on Mormonism
is based mainly on the fully documented description in Appendix VI, below.
missionaries, impressed with the cooperative schemes they encountered, planned to introduce cooperative ideas to Nauvoo and later to Utah. And, more important, they made their converts in the same areas and among the same social groups that were most closely associated with the communitarian and cooperative ventures of the time: in the industrial cities of northern England and South Wales and among the lower middle class sectarians who joined such organizations as the Owenite "Villages of Cooperation." It was thus perfectly natural that the English converts who arrived in Nauvoo should take a leading part in the manufacturing cooperatives of that city; and it was natural, too, that many of these relatively poor converts were later able to make the expensive journey from England to Utah through the English Mormon cooperative venture called the "Perpetual Emigrating Fund."

Perhaps even more influential in the shift to cooperative activities in the church were the Scandinavian converts. Before 1850 most of the Scandinavians were Norwegians and almost all of the Norwegians who had embraced Mormonism by 1842 belonged to the pietistic Norwegian sect known as Haugean Lutheranism or were Norwegian Quakers. These Norwegian converts were no strangers to the communitarian way. Those who were Quakers had originally been converted to Quakerism by an English communitarian. Those who were Haugeans doubtless remembered the recent communitarian heritage of their own religion. Cleng Peerson (1783-1865), the man who had brought the first Norwegians to America in 1825, was himself a communitarian. Some of the first immigrants, both Quaker and Haugean, had been members of Peerson's abortive community—the Kendall Colony—in western New York. Peerson and at least one other Norwegian had joined the Swedish utopian community of Bishop Hill. And finally, a few followers of Peerson had had significant relations with the Rappites, and of

these followers two or three became influential Mormons.

In 1834, dissatisfied with western New York as a place of settlement, the Haukan and Quaker Norwegians moved to Illinois, where their Fox River Settlement became the salient of the great Scandinavian migration to the midwest. By about 1844 at least one hundred and fifty of the six hundred Norwegians in the Fox River Settlement became Mormons, and from among these converts Joseph Smith made up the spearhead of an extraordinarily successful mission to Scandinavia.

In October, 1844, four months after the assassination of Joseph Smith, the Norwegian converts in the Fox River area were so numerous that no less than four important members of the Twelve Apostles of the church, Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, Heber C. Kimball, and Lorenzo D. Young, visited the Norwegian Branch, as it was now called, laid out a city according to the Plat of the City of Zion, and having dedicated it to the Lord, called it Norway. Norway bid fair to become the Norwegian Nauvoo, but almost immediately the church was torn by disension and soon afterwards the gentiles of Illinois forced the Saints to begin that almost legendary exodus to Utah that began in 1845-46.

The particular significance of the Norwegians for the cooperative trend in Mormonism was not merely their communitarian background; it was also the fact that enough of them had joined the church by 1842 to strengthen the new trend in both Nauvoo and Utah.

* * *

When the Saints left Nauvoo for Utah, they took with them a religion that had been considerably altered since 1830. But they never lost the habits of their communitarian origins. Although in Utah cooperation rather than the quasi-communism of the United Order became the chief expression of these origins, even in Utah the United Order enjoyed a brief revival under Brigham Young. In the 1850's this revival took the form of the "consecration movement," an effort to reinstate as a "higher law" than tithing, the laws of consecration and stewardship. Then in the 1870's Brigham Young vigorously pushed for the establishment of various small short-lived United Order communities in northern Arizona,
southern Nevada and in Utah. So deeply had the law of Enoch impressed itself upon the Mormon mind that even the heretical offshoots of Mormonism founded United Order communities in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania in the 1840's and 1850's; and in Missouri in the early twentieth century.

But all these revivals were essentially atavistic. By the 1870's cooperatives and not communities were the typical form of Mormon social and economic activity. In 1873 an oft-quoted passage from a Mormon periodical gave evidence that cooperation had in fact been reduced to a worn slogan:

At the close of a two days' meeting held at Springville, a gentleman came forward, and presented a specimen of the practical results of one branch of co-operation very popular in Utah, though rather unpopular in some Eastern States. This was a fine stout, four-year-old boy, which the father stated was the tenth child of his mother and the 44th born to him since he was forty years old. Such co-operation as that is hard to beat, and is worthy the imitation of good men and women everywhere.

Structurally the cooperatives of Utah were simply joint-stock corporations, and not cooperatives in the traditional sense. They were cooperatives in that they served very important social and religious functions. They persisted well into the twentieth century, but their social and religious functions had almost disappeared after 1900. Between the late nineteenth century and 1960 private capitalism became the backbone of the economy of Utah.

Yet, in spite of the later trend toward private capitalism, Brigham Young had stated that the cooperative movement was "only a stepping stone to what is called the Order of Enoch." Young failed in his attempts to reestablish the United Order, but the communitarian cast of mind remained. In the

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1 This communitarian heritage of Utah forms two whole chapters (x and xi) in L. J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom.

2 Millennial Star, XXXIV, 430 (July, 1873). The inaccurate quotation of this passage in E. E. Riicksen's Mormon Group Life (p. 165) is often repeated.

3 L. J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 293, 321.

4 Quoted in Arrington, 323.
1930's the Mormons revived and broadened the Lord's Storehouse, calling it now the "Bishop's Storehouse." Local bishops used this old institution during the Great Depression to provide relief and employment for destitute Saints.

By the late 1950's the Bishop's Storehouse had met resources in farms, plants, and other welfare enterprises of about $50,000,000 and attracted wide attention. In 1960 the New York Times stated that the Mormon welfare program was based on the proposition that the responsibility for man's economic maintenance rests on himself and that the church should come into play only to help a church member help himself. The Times rightly noted that this principle was also the basis of the farm program of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, who was one of the Twelve Apostles governing the modern church.

* * *

In general, cooperation in Far West and Nauvoo waned as the communistic levelling of property waned. Free land remained for the poor, but most Saints had to pay for their lands. Joseph Smith himself, as "trustee-in-trust" for church land sales, and as arbiter of practically every other activity, was becoming increasingly interested in wealth for its own sake.

The United Order of Enoch disappeared as a quasi-communistic community not only because of the secret enmity of the Prophet and the rise of cooperation but also because of a change in the spirit of Mormonism itself: from one of great self-sacrifice in the face of the coming millennium to one of worldly aggrandizement. Toward the end of his life Joseph made himself general of the Mormon army at Nauvoo, the Nauvoo Legion. He played politics with the Illinois legislature to get for his settlement the independent status of a veritable city-state. He no longer insisted that the increasingly lukewarm Saints "stand

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1Times, May 1, 1960.

2F. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 260-263.
in holy places" to watch the gentiles go to hell on the Last Day. And advertisements for beer began to creep into his official organ, the Nauvoo Neighbor.

In 1842 Reverend Henry Caswall, an Episcopalian student of Mormonism, visited Nauvoo and noted the rise of this more worldly spirit with surprise. In 1844, Parley P. Pratt was so concerned that he wrote "A Mirror for the Saints to Look in to see themselves." The previous spring he had returned from a long missionary trip to England filled with plans for "building the Temple and stores, and factories, and mills, and in short, everything that will make business and employ the poor." But now, he complained, the Gathering and the millennial spirit that sustained it had broken down for two reasons: covetousness and unbelief. Converts no longer act in unison and give their surplus readily to the church. Many men of little faith invest their wealth in the east and then come out west—where the church stands in dire need of finances.

In short, self-defense, covetousness, and loss of piety had so weakened the millennial spirit that all the isolation of Utah could not recapture its original intensity. The spectacular growth of Nauvoo, of converts, of persecution, and of Mormon political power after 1840 all tended to smush the Saints in the things of this world. The terrestrial city was engulfing the celestial


2 Times and Seasons, IV, 165 (15 Apr. 1843).

3 Ibid., V, 610 (Sept. 2, 1844). Perhaps, too, the seed for these later developments sown by Pratt lay in the wide, worldly promises made in the early revelations concerning the Gathering, wherein God said that each Saint who went treasure unto Zion "shall receive an inheritance in this world... and also a reward in the world to come." See *Evening and Morning Star*, I, 141 (Feb., 1833); D & C, 63: 148.

4 Professor Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., attributes the decline of all millennial communitarianism to the rise of American industrial capitalism in the 1870's. *Backwoods Utopias*, 7-8, 76, 229, 248-249. But while this larger historical development destroyed the Mormon cooperative movement in Utah, I do not believe it could have had anything to do with the disappearance, between 1838 and 1866, of the United Order of Enoch. For an extreme economic interpretation of the decline of Mormon communitarianism see L. J. Arrington, "Early Mormon Communitarianism: The Law of Consecration and Stewardship," *Western Humanities Review*, VII (1952-53), 356-357, 363, 364.
city.

A few diehard communitarian adventists remained. And this may explain why, as late as 1843, the Prophet was still preaching against the doctrine of Christian communism. He noted in his journal in the fall of that year that he had delivered a sermon against "the 2d Chapter of Acts, designing to show the folly of common stock. In Nauvoo everyone is steward over his own." 1

Yet, many a Saint still respected the ancient principle of equality. Parley P. Pratt, for example, though he retained a farm northwest of Nauvoo, sold his property within the city limits after the death of the Prophet and also felt obliged to dedicate the "surplus, if any," to the church. 2 How much the "personal" property of the Saints still remained communal and dependent on the continuation of the church became apparent in the leadership crisis that followed the murder of the Prophet in June, 1844. Among those who wanted a new leader appointed, without waiting for the return, from missionary trips, of Brigham Young and other members of the Quorum of the Twelve, was Joseph's wife Emma. She pleaded that delay in selecting a "trustee" for the whole church "would endanger much property of a public and private character and perhaps cause a loss of scores of thousands of dollars." 3

As soon as he heard of the murder of Joseph, Brigham Young, the "Lion of the Lord," hurried home to Nauvoo, and by August, 1844, despite several rival claimants to the Prophet's mantle, had taken effective control of the church. Within another eighteen months the Saints had begun their famous exodus to Utah. And as the Owenites had taken over the Harmony of the Rappites, so also did the Icarians of Etienne Cabet take over the abandoned Nauvoo of the Mormons. 4

1History of the Church, VI, 37-38.
3Ibid., 372-373.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

George Rapp, the precursor of the French and English Socialists, and of Joe Smith, the Mormon Prophet, had in his character several features common with them all. He pretended to be a seer, an instrument raised up by Providence, like Joe Smith; and he stuck to his own schemes of political economy,—to the theory of the community of property and repudiation of commerce,—as steadfastly as Babeuf or Cabet.

—Francis and Theresa Pulasky (1853)

In one of the early revelations of Joseph Smith, Prophet, Seer, and Revelator, the Lord told the Saints: "You . . . are the first laborers in this last kingdom."

This description of the early Mormons is perhaps the most basic one that can be cited; for early Mormonism arose first and foremost as a millennial sect. The most characteristic quality of that sect was its drive to establish a millennial community in the American West, a community that was to be imperial in scope.

A study of Mormon communalism is indispensable for any understanding of the genesis and development of Mormonism as a whole. Joseph Smith was as much a communitarian—however reluctant he may have been about Christian communism—as "Vater" George Rapp. And his communitarian notions were in part borrowed, strengthened, and modified by his contacts with other utopians in what might be called the Communitarian World beyond the Appalachians.

Historians, when they have admitted the communitarianism of the Mormons at all, have glossed over it as unimportant, or more often, as unknown. The

\[1^{\text{P & C, 88: 74 (Dec. 27, 1832).}}\]
late Professor Whitney R. Cross, the most diligent and comprehensive student of the Burned-over District, wishfully suspected, for example, that Shakerism was not the isolated, sterile, even funny phenomenon that professional as well as journalistic historians have made of it. "Shakerism," he once remarked in an obscure footnote, "did undoubtedly influence all American religious experiments and many communal ones [including Mormonism], but the problem of making the relationship definable is apparently insoluble." One can make a historical relationship "definable" only by trying to find out what it was. The long suspected influence of Shakerism on the rise of Mormonism was not insoluble; it was simply never investigated in the relevant sources.

In the history of communitarianism such an investigation must be what diplomatic historians term "multi-archival"; for as I have noted above, the communitarian world was remarkable for its close and fertile interrelationships. Shaker archives, for example, augmented by biographical data on the obscure family backgrounds of early Mormon leaders like Edward Partridge, Parley P. Pratt, and the all but forgotten Jesse Gause, have demonstrated a close and influential connection between the Shakers and the Mormons. But the multi-archival approach to early Mormon history has also revealed important connections between the Rappites and the Shakers; the Rappites and the earliest Norwegian Haugean immigrants; the Norwegians and the Quakers; the Norwegians and the Mormons; the Rigdonites and the Mormons; the Rigdonites and the Shakers of North Union, Ohio; the Mormons and the Rappites; possibly the Rigdonites and the Rappites; and the Mormons and the various English cooperative groups.

Certainly in the largest and most fundamental sense Mormon communitarianism was a product of the religious tradition often termed "left-wing Protestantism." The effect on Mormonism of the Apochrypha and pseudepigrapha

demonstrates how much the Mormons had in common with the old English Muggletonians as well as with the Shakers—with, in fact, religious "seekers" of all kinds; and it shows how conducive were the American backwoods to the proliferation of sectarian seekers and to the breakdown of orthodoxy.

Of late it has become the fashion in American historiography to arrive at "new interpretations" by manipulating the words conservatism and liberalism. Recent students of the national period, for example, seem to be coming around to the possibility that the reformers of that age were more conservative than radical. But when left undefined, these two terms are meaningless.

In that Mormonism represented a revolt against the Methodist or Presbyterian orthodoxy of evangelical Protestantism in the Burned-over District, it was liberal or radical. In that Mormon doctrine, as developed between 1830 and 1844, breathes a spirit of rationalism and materialism, of Arminianism and good works, it was a moderate liberal revolt against the evangelical puritanism of early nineteenth-century New England. Mormonism was also radical in that it was a new, syncretic religion, rendered quite unique by such almost bizarre doctrines (for Christianity) as polygamy, polytheism, literal materialism, and above all the literal identification of one country, the United States, as


Berthoff succumbs to the almost indestructible myth that Mormonism flowered in Utah—with a conservative "hierarchic social order in the western deserts," an order that repudiated "liberal individualism."

But since "liberal individualism" was the dominant value of American religion at the time, Mormonism may be said to be quite radical. Moreover, this liberal individualism was repudiated not in Utah, but in the east, as early as 1829-31; and it was repudiated not in terms of a hierarchy per se, but in terms of the authority for establishing a hierarchy.

Berthoff also accepts W. R. Cross's theory that Mormonism arose out of a "settled" society in the Burned-over District as one of many novel religious reactions against being "left behind by the march of progress." But as I have pointed out above (pp. 15-17), the farmers reacted not against progress but against the lack of it in a new country. Moreover, Cross's use of statistical correlations between population and religion say little or nothing about the historical origins and religious psychology of early Mormonism.
locus of Zion. And finally, in that Mormonism developed a lasting communitarian ethic that still sets it off from any other major American religion, it was radical.

Only in one central doctrine can Mormonism be termed conservative (or "reactionary," for that matter) and that is its quest for religious authority as the one true church, as the church that would destroy sectarianism forever. But even here one finds a profound radicalism in that the authority was based on a new, revealed canon of scriptures and a "new dispensation."

If one insists on using the slippery terms conservative and liberal (or reactionary and radical), one must conclude that Mormonism was a liberal revolt against the hyper-individualistic, sectarian, evangelical orthodoxy of the New England frontier. As it existed in the new country of the Burned-over District this kind of orthodoxy was often orgiastic and novel enough to be considered a departure from the orthodoxy of New England proper.

In non-theological matters, however, the Mormons were quite conservative, and became more so in the next hundred years or so. Although communitarians are sometimes said to desire to "remake" society, the Mormons regarded the political institutions of the republic as providentially founded in the Land of the Nephites (the United States) to make easier the gathering of the Saints unto Zion. Except for a brief alliance with the Whigs in the Nauvoo years, the Prophet was generally happy as a Jacksonian Democrat—a party affiliation that nowadays can be interpreted as either liberal or conservative in its ideology. In 1858 the Mormons formally declared the Constitution of the United States to be inspired of God.

1This is part of Professor Bestor's definition. See Backwoods Utopias, 16. But I feel that it applies to secular rather than religious communitarianism.

2F. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 69, 93, 366.
The secularized, individualized remnants of Mormon communitarianism that have survived into the twentieth century also tended to be conservative. In the 1930's, when the Mormons successfully applied their communitarian habits—chiefly in the form of a revived "Bishop's Storehouse"—to the problems of relief and unemployment, they became famous throughout the country for "taking care of their own" and endeared themselves to conservative Americans as proponents of the "American Way" of self-help and individual enterprise. It is a surpassing irony of Mormon history that the radical, communitarian institutions of the United Order, directed as they originally were toward economic equality and personal self-effacement, should eventually be used to encourage individualistic, economic self-help—the very motto of modern liberal capitalism.

Mormonism is the only American denomination whose history can be written in economic terms. The economic interpretation of Mormonism is indispensable and, except for the earlier period, widespread. But it is also usual, and quite justifiable, to approach Mormonism from the point of view of the American West. While almost every other utopia from that of the Shakers (and earlier) to that of Brook Farm (and later) was European or Eastern in either its founder or ideas, the community of Joseph Smith was essentially American in origin and character. Nowhere was this fact more dramatically illustrated than in the relation of Mormonism to the West.

For the Mormons the American West was not only a lost land of the

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1There have always been tiny radical groups in Utah, both secular and religious, but they have never been significantly strong. It is perhaps worth noting that in 1920 Parley P. Christensen, a descendent of Parley P. Pratt, was the Farmer-Labor Party candidate for the presidency on a socialist platform.

2This has been done exhaustively by Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: an Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900 (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). Actually, this work covers only the Utah period from 1846 to 1900. Thus, Arrington's work and this dissertation are strongly complementary.
Nephites, but a golden Garden of Eden, a vision of beauty and plenty that was common to all Americans of the era. In setting up his cities of Zion, and later his "missions" and "stakes," the Prophet incorporated as part of his theology the American colonial system: (1) the division of the public domain of the United States by the square survey; and (2) the governing of the newly divided land by a federal system of maturating units. Mormon polity adopted the political part of this system in so far as Mormon missions (which corresponded to United States Territories) could become stakes (which corresponded to full-fledged states); Mormon polity adopted the territorial part of this system in its Cities of Zion, which were based on the townships and sections of the square survey.

Because they were dispersed by the attacks of the Missourians, the Saints were faced with the problem of maintaining their unity as a movement. They adopted the stakes to preserve the loyalty and cohesiveness of the scattered churchmembers. In this the stakes were far more successful than the celebrated Methodist system of circuit riders.

The Mormons had been scattered by two great waves of persecution, one in 1833-34 and one in 1836-38. This persecution stemmed from the near anarchy of the frontier state of Missouri as well as from the non-conforming, "un-American" values of Mormonism. Mormonism was able to survive this anarchy by superimposing the federal system of the Founding Fathers on the communitarian system of the Cities of Zion. Just as the disorderly expansion of the West in the post-Revolutionary era threatened the central power of the Confederation, so also the dispersion of the Saints in Missouri threatened the central control of the Prophet. A federal system suited both the religion and the secular government. Both were able to conquer dangerous centrifugal tendencies and thus solve the age-old American problem of freedom and order in the West.

The problem of balancing freedom and order was one that extended not
only to the survival of Mormonism in the West, but to the whole of American ante-bellum society. It has been suggested that between 1815 and 1900 the older American social order of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been broken up by westward and internal migration, by the rise of industrialism, and by the start of the new immigration of the 1830's and 1840's. But not until after 1900, when these great centrifugal forces were on the wane, did they begin to affect the social order of the Mormons. The exodus of the Nauvoo Saints to Utah as a cohesive group, their industrial cooperatives in Nauvoo and in the Great Basin, and the influx of large numbers of English and Scandinavian converts only strengthened the society created by Mormonism. The peaceful acceptance by the American Mormons of the tens of thousands of foreigners who immigrated to Nauvoo and Salt Lake City affords one of the most successful instances of peaceful and creative assimilation in the history of American immigration. Thus the history of Mormon communitarianism illustrates the superb accommodation of Mormonism to the divisive forces that were breaking up the American social order: to the West, to industrialism, and to migration and immigration.

One final implication of Mormon communitarianism might be mentioned: the nature of the relationship between New England and the West, or between the East and the West.

The history of the United Order of Enoch does not help solve the essentially useless question of whether Mormonism came from the East or the West. In a large sense everything in the West was a product of the East: the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocrypha, the King James Bible, the pseudoepigrapha, the


2David Erion Davis has gone so far as to state that Mormonism was not a frontier sect because it was nearly destroyed on the frontier: "The New England Origins of Mormonism," 153-157. But he must have been writing of the mystical frontier of the Turnerites and not the real, disordered frontier of history.
two books (published in Baltimore and Philadelphia) on the dual priesthood, the local myths about buried Indians and buried treasures, the influential converts, the eccentric from Vermont, the Englishmen and Scandinavians—in short everything that was relevant from New England, Europe, and the Near East. It is also true that in so far as Mormonism was influenced by Shakerism and other forms of communitarianism it was a product of the East. Shakerism originally came from England in 1774. And English Shakerism was the result of the immigration into England of some eighteenth-century "French Prophets" of Brittany. Westward flows the course of everything.

But the influence of the West both as opportunity and milieu cannot be gainsaid. It was not merely a matter of cheap land and safety-giving isolation; it was also the human and institutional environment of such areas that made for the successful growth of such radical movements as the great wave of early nineteenth-century sectarian communitarianism. Western Shakerism, for example, having grown out of the Kentucky Revival, differed somewhat from eastern Shakerism. Mormonism, like so many other sects, found the new country, the disordered society of the West, most congenial to growth. And as we have seen in the relationship of Mormonism to the West as both vision and reality, the West even helped shape the novel doctrine and polity of the Mormon church. By and large the West permitted radicalism.

More orthodox forms of religion belonged in the settled cities; more orthodox forms of economy had no preemptive claim in new country; more orthodox forms of social organization had no preeminence in the absence of an established order. In the end, of course, orthodoxy caught up with each successive west, and the sects themselves became orthodox denominations—if they lasted long enough. The Mormons of Utah eventually became the conservatives of the modern Southwest and by the mid-twentieth century were heavily engaged in opposing the "radicalism" of the Catholics and Episcopalians.
The development of Mormon communitarianism under Joseph Smith shows that what is called Mormonism was neither the pre-history of the 1820's, nor the original creation of Brigham Young in the isolation of the Great Basin, nor, a simple effusion of the New England Mind. Rather, it was basically a composite of various utopian and religious forces in the American backwoods. Joseph Smith—also styled Gazelam, Baurach Ale, and Enoch—successfully theologized the westering and utopian dreams of the middle period dreamers: be they found in the woods of Pennsylvania or the Manchester Hall of Science.

In the literature of Mormon history the emphasis on Utah, on Brigham Young, and on polygamy has obscured the earlier, formative, communitarian period of Mormonism from about 1830 to 1846 and has belittled the role of Joseph Smith in the shaping and stabilizing of Mormonism. Thus it is, for example, that the practice of cooperation in Utah is thought to have sprouted in the arid valleys of the Great Basin in 1847 under the aegis of Young. Young himself is pictured as the great and practical, even "materialist," leader, while Joseph Smith is the mere visionary.

Actually, before his death in 1844 Joseph Smith had set up or advocated a host of practical institutions that were continued or revived by Brigham Young in Utah: a communal bank, a tithing system, a workable millennial town plan, communal manufacturing cooperatives, migration and settlement techniques,

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2E. E. Ericksen, Mormon Group Life, 35.

3Lowry Nelson (Mormon Village, 13, 17, et passim) made it quite clear that Mormon "village life" in Utah did not spring from the brow of Brigham Young or from the grid system of some New England towns, but from the Plat of the City of Zion.
distribution of land according to need (complicated in Utah by plural wives),
1 communal ownership of natural resources, and even the United Order of Enoch.
In short, almost every feature of early Mormonism except the strong millennial
spirit so essential to a truly communitarian utopia survived into Utah. 2
Brigham Young merely expanded Joseph Smith's independent, theocratic polis at
Nauvoo, into a vast, equally independent "State of Deseret" in Utah. 3 Joseph
Smith, by incorporating into his movement a great variety of influences and
making them his own, was the founder and originator of the communal life of
the Mormons. He expounded this life in scores of revelations, while Brigham
Young, an heir to the tradition, a forceful follower of earlier practices,
resorted to revelation only once in his entire career.

Such were the continuities in Utah. A host of communal techniques and
values remained; but the millennial spirit, the communitarian soul of Mormon-
ism, was gone. "Zion"—a term now transferred to the desert—was no longer a
contiguous gathering place, but only a collection of valley settlements dic-
tated by the needs of irrigation. The gurgle of irrigation ditches and not

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1 The two earlier principles of communal ownership of resources and of
distribution according to need formed the basis of the successful Mormon sys-
tem of irrigation in Utah. But a piece of misread history that is still often
cited found other sources for this pioneering use of irrigation. In his
Irrigation in Utah / Baltimore, 1898, Charles E. Brough, a member of the old
Teutonic school of history (against which Frederick Jackson Turner so justly
rebelled) explained that "the Anglo-Saxon race never attempted the reclamation
of arid land until 1847 /because/ the Germanic peoples have always written
history faster than they have read it."

2 A discussion of all these survivals may be found in L. J. Arrington's
Great Basin Kingdom. I have touched upon the vast literature on the social
and economic institutions of Utah in my bibliographical essay.

3 Both Nauvoo and Deseret were extra-legal creatures. Joseph had wrung
special privileges from the Illinois legislature by political bargaining;
Deseret was located in territory that belonged to Mexico when the Mormons went
there. The Mormons always stressed a legalistic obedience to "Caesar," but
when necessary, ignored Caesar. See D & C, 51: 6; 58: 21; 63: 27; 98: 1; 101:
77. Joseph overrode the laws of the land in countenancing the violence of the
Danites, in threatening to use his private army (the "Nauvoo Legion"), and in
refusing to permit suits for the return of consecrated property.
the trumpet blasts of heaven sounded the rhythm of desert life. The main branches of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints still believe that Jackson county will some day be the Place of Gathering. But as the capital of a communitarian empire the Holy City of Zion died when the millennial day of doom seemed less desirable than the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of this earth.
ABBREVIATIONS

WHRS  Western Reserve Historical Society

D & C  The Doctrine and Covenants of the
        Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-
        Day Saints. Salt Lake City, 1921.
APPENDIX I

THREE VERSIONS OF THE UNITED ORDER REVELATION.

A few weeks after the Prophet's scribe wrote down the United Order revelation in February, 1831, an accurate copy of it appeared in two gentile newspapers as the "Secret Bye Laws of the Mormonites"—an attempt to smear the Mormons as a secret society like the much hated Masons. This purloined version is the closest to the original text. It is printed below in column 1 as the "Original Version."

The next version, printed in column 2 below, is very similar in text to the original version. It was officially published in 1833 in the first collection of Smith's revelations, the very rare Book of Commandments.

The third and final version, given below in column 3, was printed in the second official collection of Smith's revelations, the Doctrine and Covenants (1835). In this third version the Prophet drastically revised the original text to suit his clandestine reorganization of the United Order of Enoch.

There were three compilations of Joseph Smith's revelations before his death.

The first was The Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Jesus Christ, organized according to Law on the 6th of April, 1830 (Zion Independence, Mo.: W. W. Phelps & Co., 1833). This is a simple chronological arrangement. A little smaller than a postcard in

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1See above, p. 119.

2See above, pp. 90, n. 1; 252-256; 260-263.
size, it stops in the middle of a revelation given on 11 September 1831. The Missourians destroyed the sheets while it was in the process of being printed. Only two copies are now extant. It was reprinted by the Salt Lake Tribune in 1864.

The second compilation is entitled the Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints carefully selected from the revelations of God and compiled by Joseph Smith Junior, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams (presiding elders of said Church), proprietors (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams & Co., 1835). This is the first compilation bearing the title "Doctrine and Covenants," and represents, in its arrangement, an attempt to transform what were expedient and imaginative revelations into eternal doctrinal truths. Some revelations are revised from 1833, others are added, and the whole is prefaced by a series of "Lectures" on Mormon theology. The unrevised revelations printed in the Evening and Morning Star were also revised when the Star was reprinted (1835-36).

The third compilation, also doctrinally arranged, is called The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; carefully selected from the revelations of God by Joseph Smith, president of the church (Nauvoo, Illinois: John Taylor, 1844). Since 1844, the collection has not changed in any significant manner. Brigham Young (president, ca. 1846-77) received only one revelation in his career—compared with about one hundred and thirty-three received by Joseph Smith (president, 1830-44).
Hearken, O ye elders of my church, who have assembled yourselves together in my name, even Jesus Christ the son of the living God, the Saviour of the world, inasmuch as they believe on my name and keep my commandments, again I say unto you, hearken, and hear and obey the laws which I shall give unto you, for verily I say, as ye have assembled yourselves together according to their commandment wherewith I commanded you, and are agreed as touching this one thing, and have asked me in my name, even so ye shall receive. Behold verily I say unto you, I give unto you this first commandment, that ye shall go forth in my name, every one of you except my servants Joseph and Sidney, and I give unto them a commandment, that they shall go forth and obey the law which I shall give unto you:

5 Behold, verily I say unto you, I give unto you this first commandment, that ye shall go forth in my name, every one of you except my servants Joseph and Sidney.

6 And I give unto them a commandment that they shall go forth for
for a little season, and it shall be given by the power of my spirit when they shall return. And ye shall go forth in the power of my spirit, preaching my gospel, two by two, in my name, lifting up your voices as with the voice of a trump, declaring my word like unto angels of God; and ye shall go forth baptizing with water saying repent ye, repent ye, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand; and from this place ye shall go forth into the regions westward, insomuch as ye shall find my disciples, ye shall build up my church in every region, until the time shall come when it shall be revealed unto you from on high, and the city of the New Jerusalem shall be prepared, that ye may be gathered in one, that ye may be my people, and I will be your God. And again I say unto you that my servant Edward, shall stand in the office wherewith I have appointed him, and it shall come to pass, that if he transgress, another shall be appointed in his stead, even so, Amen.

THE NAMS.—Again I say unto you, that it shall not be given unto any one to go forth to preach my a little season, and it shall be given by the power of my Spirit when they shall return.

7 And ye shall go forth in the power of my Spirit, preaching my gospel, two by two, in my name, lifting up your voices as with the sound of a trump, declaring my word like unto angels of God.

8 And ye shall go forth baptizing with water, saying, Repent ye, repent ye, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

9 And from this place ye shall go forth into the regions westward, and insomuch as ye shall find them that will receive you, ye shall build up my church in every region, until the time shall come when it shall be revealed unto you from on high, when the city of the New Jerusalem shall be prepared that ye may be gathered in one, that ye may be my people and I will be your God.

10 And again, I say unto you, that my servant Edward Partridge shall stand in the office whereunto I have appointed him.

11 And it shall come to pass, that if he transgress another shall be appointed in his stead; even so, Amen.

12 Again I say unto you, that it shall not be given to any one to go forth to preach my gospel, or for a little season, and it shall be given by the power of the Spirit when they shall return.

6. And ye shall go forth in the power of my Spirit, preaching my gospel, two by two, in my name, lifting up your voices as with the sound of a trump, declaring my word like unto angels of God.

7. And ye shall go forth baptizing with water, saying: Repent ye, repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

8. And from this place ye shall go forth into the regions westward; and insomuch as ye shall find them that will receive you ye shall build up my church in every region—

9. Until the time shall come when it shall be revealed unto you from on high, when the city of the New Jerusalem shall be prepared, that ye may be gathered in one, that ye may be my people and I will be your God.

10. And again, I say unto you, that my servant Edward Partridge shall stand in the office whereunto I have appointed him. And it shall come to pass, that if he transgress another shall be appointed in his stead. Even so, Amen.

11. Again, I say unto you, that it shall not be given to any one to go forth to preach my gospel, or
gospel, or to build up my church, except he be ordained by some one that hath authority, and have been regularly ordained, by the leaders of the church; and again the elders, priests and teachers of this church, shall teach the scriptures which are in the Bible, and the book of Mormon, in the which is the fulness of the gospel; and thou shalt observe the covenants and church articles, to do them, and this shall be thy trusting;

and thou shalt be directed by the spirit, it shall be given thee by the prayer of faith, and if ye receive not the spirit, ye shall not teach, and all this ye shall observe to do, as I have commanded concerning your teaching, until the fulness of my scripture be given. And as ye shall lift up your voices by the comforter, ye shall speak and prophesy as seemeth me good, for behold the comforter knoweth all things, and beareth record of the Father and the Son; and now behold I speak unto the Church:

Thou shalt not kill, and he that to build up my church, except he be ordained by some one who has authority, and it is known to the church that he has authority, and has been regularly ordained by the hands of the church.

13 And again, the elders, priests, and teachers of this church, shall teach the scriptures which are in the Bible, and the book of Mormon, in the which is the fulness of the gospel; and they shall observe the covenants and church articles to do them; and these shall be their teachings.

14 And they shall be directed by the Spirit, which shall be given by the prayer of faith; and if they receive not the Spirit, they shall not teach.

15 And all this they shall observe to do, as I have commanded concerning their teaching, until the fulness of my scriptures are given.

16 And as they shall lift up their voices by the Comforter, they shall speak and prophesy as seemeth me good; for behold the Comforter knoweth all things, and beareth record of the Father, and of the Son.

17 And now behold I speak unto the church:

18 Thou shalt not kill; and he that to build up my church, except he be ordained by some one who has authority, and it is known to the church that he has authority and has been regularly ordained by the heads of the church.

12. And again, the elders, priests and teachers of this church shall teach the principles of my gospel, which are in the Bible and the Book of Mormon, in the which is the fulness of the gospel.

13. And they shall observe the covenants and church articles to do them, and these shall be their teachings, as they shall be directed by the Spirit.

11. And the Spirit shall be given unto you by the prayer of faith; and if ye receive not the Spirit ye shall not teach.

15. And all this ye shall observe to do as I have commanded concerning your teaching, until the fulness of my scriptures is given.

16. And as ye shall lift up your voices by the Comforter, ye shall speak and prophesy as seemeth me good.

17. For, behold, the Comforter knoweth all things, and beareth record of the Father and of the Son.

18. And now, behold, I speak unto the church. Thou shalt not kill; and he that kills shall not
killeth shall not have forgiveness, neither in this world neither in the world to come.

And again thou shalt not kill; he that killeth shall die.

Thou shalt not steal, and he that stealeth and will not repent, shall be cast out.

Thou shalt not lie, he that lieth and will not repent shall be cast out.

Thou shalt love thy wife, with all thy heart, and shalt cleave unto her, and none else, and he that looketh upon a woman to lust after her, shall deny the faith and shall not have the spirit, and if he repent not, he shall be cast out.

Thou shalt not commit adultery, and he that committeth adultery, and repenteth not, shall be cast out; and he that committeth adultery and repenteth with all his heart, and forsaketh and doeth it no more, thou shalt forgive him; but if he doeth it again, he shall not be forgiven but shall be cast out.

Thou shalt not speak evil of thy neighbor, or do him any harm:

thou knowest my laws, they are given in my scriptures, he that

killeth, shall not have forgiveness, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.

19 And again, thou shalt not kill; he that killeth shall die.

20 Thou shalt not steal; and he that stealeth and will not repent, shall be cast out.

21 Thou shalt not lie; he that lieth and will not repent, shall be cast out.

22 Thou shalt love thy wife with all thy heart, and shalt cleave unto her and none else; and he that looketh upon a woman to lust after her, shall deny the faith, and shall not have the Spirit, and if he repent not, he shall be cast out.

23 Thou shalt not commit adultery; and he that committeth adultery and repenteth not, shall be cast out; and he that committeth adultery and repenteth with all his heart, and forsaketh and doeth it no more, thou shalt forgive him; but if he doeth it again, he shall not be forgiven, but shall be cast out.

24 Thou shalt not speak evil of thy neighbor, or do him any harm.

25 Thou knowest my laws, they are given in my scriptures, have forgiveness in this world, nor in the world to come.

26 And again, I say, thou shalt not kill; but he that killeth shall die.

20 Thou shalt not steal; and he that stealeth and will not repent shall be cast out.

21 Thou shalt not lie; he that lieth and will not repent shall be cast out.

22 Thou shalt love thy wife with all thy heart, and shalt cleave unto her and none else.

23 And he that looketh upon a woman to lust after her shall deny the faith, and shall not have the Spirit; and if he repents not he shall be cast out.

24 Thou shalt not commit adultery; and he that committeth adultery, and repenteth not, shall be cast out.

25 But he that has committed adultery and repents with all his heart, and forsaketh it, and doeth it no more, thou shalt forgive;

26 But if he doeth it again, he shall not be forgiven, but shall be cast out.

27 Thou shalt not speak evil of thy neighbor, nor do him any harm.

28 Thou knowest my laws concerning these things are given
sinmeth and repenteth not, shall be cast out: if thou lovest me,

thou shalt serve, and keep all my commandments.

And behold thou shalt consecrate all thy properties, that which thou hast, unto me, with a covenant and deed which cannot be broken, and they shall be laid before the bishop of my church, and two of the elders, such as he shall appoint and set apart for that purpose, and it shall come to pass that the bishop of my church, after that he has received the properties of my church, that it cannot be taken from you, he shall appoint every man a steward over his own property, or that which he hath received, inasmuch as shall be sufficient for himself and family.

he that sinmeth and repenteth not, shall be cast out.

26 If thou lovest me, thou shalt serve me and keep all my commandments; and behold, thou shalt consecrate all thy properties, that which thou hast unto me, with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken; and they shall be laid before the bishop of my church, and two of the elders, such as he shall appoint and set apart for that purpose.

27 And it shall come to pass, that the bishop of my church, after that he has received the properties of my church, that it cannot be taken from you, he shall appoint every man a steward over his own property, or that which he has received, inasmuch as is sufficient for himself and family.

28 If thou lovest me, thou shalt serve me and keep all my commandments.

29. If thou lovest me thou shalt serve me and keep all my commandments.

30. And behold, thou wilt remember the poor, and consecrate of thy properties for their support that which thou hast to impart unto them, with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken.

31. And inasmuch as ye impart of your substance unto the poor, ye will do it unto me; and they shall be laid before the bishop of my church and his counselors, two of the elders, or high priests, such as he shall appoint or has appointed and set apart for that purpose.

32. And it shall come to pass, that after they are laid before the bishop of my church, and after that he has received these testimonies concerning the consecration of the properties of my church, that they cannot be taken from the church, agreeable to my commandments, every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own property, or that which he has received by consecration, as much as is sufficient for himself and family.
and the residue shall be kept to administer to him who has not, that every man may receive according as he stands in need; and the residue shall be kept in my storehouse, to administer to the poor and needy, as shall be appointed by the elders of the church, and the bishop; and for the purpose of purchasing land and building up the New Jerusalem, which is hereafter to be revealed, so that my covenant people may be gathered in one, in the day that I shall come to my temple; and this I do for the salvation of my people; and it shall come to pass that he that sinneth and repenteth not shall be cast out and shall not receive again that which he hath consecrated unto me.

28 And the residue shall be kept to administer to him who has not, that every man may receive according as he stands in need.

29 And the residue shall be kept in my storehouse, to administer to the poor and needy, as shall be appointed by the elders of the church and the bishop; and for the purpose of purchasing lands and the building up of the New Jerusalem, which is hereafter to be revealed, so that my covenant people may be gathered in one, in the day that I shall come to my temple:

30 And this I do for the salvation of my people.

31 And it shall come to pass, that he that sinneth and repenteth not shall be cast out, and shall not receive again that which he has consecrated unto me:

33. And again, if there shall be properties in the hands of the church, or any individuals of it, more than is necessary for their support after this first consecration, which is a residue to be consecrated unto the bishop, it shall be kept to administer to those who have not, from time to time, that every man who has need may be amply supplied and receive according to his wants.

34. Therefore, the residue shall be kept in my storehouse, to administer to the poor and the needy, as shall be appointed by the high council of the church and the bishop and his council.

35. And for the purpose of purchasing lands for the public benefit of the church, and building houses of worship, and building up of the New Jerusalem which is hereafter to be revealed—

36. That my covenant people may be gathered in one in that day when I shall come to my temple. And this I do for the salvation of my people.

37. And it shall come to pass, that he that sinneth and repenteth not shall be cast out of the church, and shall not receive again that which he has consecrated unto the poor and the needy of my church, or in other
32 For it shall come to pass, that which I spake by the mouths of my prophets shall be fulfilled; for I will consecrate the riches of the Gentiles unto my people which are of the house of Israel.

33 And again, thou shalt not be proud in thy heart; let all thy garments be plain, and their beauty the beauty of the work of thine own hands; and let all things be done in cleanliness before me.

34 Thou shalt not be idle; for he that is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garment of the laborer.

35 And whosoever among you that are sick, and have not faith to be healed, but believeth shall be nourished in all tenderness with herbs and mild food, and that not of the world; and the elders of the church, two or more shall be called, and shall pray for, and lay their hands upon them in my name; and if they die, they shall die unto me; and if they

words, unto me—

38. For inasmuch as ye do it unto the least of these, ye do it unto me.

39. For it shall come to pass, that which I spake by the mouths of my prophets shall be fulfilled; for I will consecrate the riches of those who embrace my gospel among the Gentiles unto the poor of my people who are of the house of Israel.

40. And again, thou shalt not be proud in thy heart; let all thy garments be plain, and their beauty the beauty of the work of thine own hands;

41. And let all things be done in cleanliness before me.

42. Thou shalt not be idle; for he that is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer.

43. And whosoever among you that are sick, and have not faith to be healed, but believe, shall be nourished with all tenderness, with herbs and mild food, and that not by the hand of an enemy.

44. And the elders of the church, two or more, shall be called, and shall pray for and lay their hands upon them in my name; and if they die they shall die unto me, and if they
if they shall live, they shall live unto me.

Thou shalt live together in love, in as much, that thou shalt weep for the loss of them that die, and more especially for those that have not hope of a glorious resurrection.

And it shall come to pass, that they that die in me shall not taste of death, for it shall be sweet unto them; and they that die not in me wo is them for their death is bitter; and again it shall come to pass that he that hath faith in me to be healed and is not appointed unto death, shall be healed; he that hath faith to see, shall see; he that hath faith to hear, shall hear; the lame that have faith to leap, shall leap; and they that have not faith to do these things, but believe in me, hath power to become my sons, and inasmuch as they break not my laws, thou shalt bear their infirmities, thou shalt stand in the place of thy stewardship. Thou shalt not take thy brother's garment. Thou shalt pay for that and if they live they shall live unto me.

36 Thou shalt live together in love, insomuch that thou shalt weep for the loss of them that die, and more especially for those that have not hope of a glorious resurrection.

37 And it shall come to pass, that those that die in me shall not taste of death, for it shall be sweet unto them; and they that die not in me, wo unto them; for their death is bitter.

38 And again, it shall come to pass, that he that hath faith in me to be healed, and is not appointed unto death, shall be healed.

39 He who hath faith to see, shall see; he who hath faith to hear, shall hear; the lame who have faith to leap, shall leap; and they who have not faith to do these things, but believe in me, have power to become my sons, and inasmuch as they break not my laws, thou shalt bear their infirmities.

40 Thou shalt stand in the place of thy stewardship:

41 Thou shalt not take thy brother's garment; thou shalt pay live they shall live unto me.

45. Thou shalt live together in love, insomuch that thou shalt weep for the loss of them that die, and more especially for those that have not hope of a glorious resurrection.

46. And it shall come to pass that those that die in me shall not taste of death, for it shall be sweet unto them.

47. And they that die not in me, wo unto them, for their death is bitter.

48. And again, it shall come to pass that he that hath faith in me to be healed, and is not appointed unto death, shall be healed.

49. He who hath faith to see shall see.

50. He who hath faith to hear shall hear.

51. The lame who hath faith to leap shall leap.

52. And they who have not faith to do these things, but believe in me, have power to become my sons, and inasmuch as they break not my laws, thou shalt bear their infirmities.

53. Thou shalt stand in the place of thy stewardship.

54. Thou shalt not take thy brother's garment; thou shalt pay
which thou shalt receive of thy brother, and if thou obtain more
than that which would be for thy support, thou shalt give it unto
my storehouse, that it may be done according to that which I
have spoken. Thou shalt ask, and my scriptures shall be given as I
have appointed, and for thy salvation; thou shalt hold thy peace
concerning them, until ye have received them, and then I give
unto you a commandment, that ye shall teach them unto all men,
and they also shall be taught unto all nations, kindred, tongue
and people; thou shalt take the
things which thou hast received, which thou knowest to have been
my law, to be my law, to govern
my church; and he that doeth
according to these things, shall be saved, and he that doeth them
not shall be damned if he con-
tinue, if thou shalt ask thou
shall receive revelation upon
revelation, knowledge upon know-
edge; that thou mayest know the
mysteries and the peaceable
for that which thou shalt receive
of thy brother.
42 And if thou obtainest more
than that which would be for thy
support, thou shalt give it into
my storehouse, that all things
may be done according to that
which I have spoken.
43 Thou shalt ask and my scrip-
tures shall be given as I have
appointed; and for thy safety it
is expedient that thou shouldst
hold thy peace concerning them,
until ye have received them:
44 Then I give unto you a com-
mandment that ye shall teach them
unto all men; and they also shall
be taught unto all nations, kind-
reds, tongues and people.
45 Thou shalt take the things
which thou hast received, which
thou knowest to have been my law,
to be my law, to govern my church;
and he that doeth according to
these things shall be saved, and
he that doeth them not shall be
damned, if he continue.
46 If thou shalt ask, thou shalt
receive revelation upon revelation,
knowledge upon knowledge, that
thou mayest know the mysteries,
and the peaceable things of the
for that which thou shalt receive
of thy brother.
55. And if thou obtainest more
than that which would be for thy
support, thou shalt give it into
my storehouse, that all things may
be done according to that which I
have said.
56. Thou shalt ask, and my
scriptures shall be given as I
have appointed, and they shall be
preserved in safety;
57. And it is expedient that
thou shouldest hold they peace con-
cerning them, and not teach them
until ye have received them in
full.
56. And I give unto you a com-
mandment that then ye shall teach
them unto all men; for they shall
be taught unto all nations, kind-
reds, tongues and people.
59. Thou shalt take the things
which thou hast received, which
have been given unto thee in my
scriptures for a law, to be my
law to govern my church;
60. And he that doeth according
to these things shall be saved,
and he that doeth them not shall
be damned if he so continue.
61. If thou shalt ask, thou
shall receive revelation upon
revelation, knowledge upon knowl-
dge, that thou mayest know the
mysteries and peaceable things—
things of the kingdom, that which bringeth joy, that which life eternal.

Thou shalt ask and it shall be revealed unto you in my own due time, where the New Jerusalem shall be built. Thou shalt ask and it shall be revealed in my own due time; and behold it shall come to pass, that my servants shall be sent both to the east, and to the west, the north and the south; and even now let him that goes to east, teach them that are converted to flee to the west, and this because of that which is to come, and secret combinations.

Behold thou shalt observe all these things, and great shall be thy reward. Thou shalt observe to keep the mysteries of the kingdom unto thyself; for it is not given unto the world to know the mysteries; and these laws which ye have received are sufficient for both here and in the New Jerusalem; but he that lacketh knowledge let him ask of me, and I will give him liberally and upbraid him.

47 Thou shalt ask and it shall be revealed unto you in my own due time where the New Jerusalem shall be built.

48 And behold, it shall come to pass, that my servants shall be sent both to the east, and to the west, to the north and to the south; and even now let him that goeth to the east, teach them that shall be converted to flee to the west; and this in consequence of that which is to come on the earth, and of secret combinations.

49 Behold, thou shalt observe all these things, and great shall be thy reward.

50 Thou shalt observe to keep the mysteries of the kingdom unto thyself, for it is not given to the world to know the mysteries.

51 The laws which ye have received, and shall hereafter receive, shall be sufficient for you both here, and in the New Jerusalem.

52 Therefore, he that lacketh knowledge, let him ask of me and I will give him liberally and that which bringeth joy, that which bringeth life eternal.

62. Thou shalt ask, and it shall be revealed unto you in my own due time where the New Jerusalem shall be built.

63. And behold, it shall come to pass that my servants shall be sent forth to the east and to the west, to the north and to the south.

64. And even now, let him that goeth to the east teach them that shall be converted to flee to the west, and this in consequence of that which is coming on the earth, and of secret combinations.

65. Behold, thou shalt observe all these things, and great shall be thy reward; for unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom, but unto the world it is not given to know them.

66. Ye shall observe the laws which ye have received and be faithful.

67. And ye shall hereafter receive church covenants, such as shall be sufficient to establish you, both here and in the New Jerusalem.

68. Therefore, he that lacketh wisdom, let him ask of me, and I will give him liberally and
53 Lift up your hearts and rejoice, for unto you the kingdom has been given; even so, Amen.

69. Lift up your hearts and rejoice, for unto you the kingdom, or in other words, the keys of the church have been given. Even so, Amen.

70. The priests and teachers shall have their stewardships, even as the members.

71. And the elders or high priests who are appointed to assist the bishop as counselors in all things, are to have their families supported out of the property which is consecrated to the bishop, for the good of the poor, and for other purposes, as before mentioned.

72. Or they are to receive a just remuneration for all their services, either a stewardship or otherwise, as may be thought best by the elders and bishop.

55 Thou shalt contract no debts with the world, except thou art commanded.

56 And again, the elders and bishop, shall counsel together, and they shall do by the direction of the Spirit as it must needs be necessary.

57 There shall be as many appointed as must needs be necessary to assist the bishop in obtaining places for the brethren from New York, that they may be together as much as can be, and as they are upbraided him not.

NOTE 1—The date at the beginning, was probably at the time of transcribing. The servants Joseph, Sidney and Edward, spoken of, are Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Edward Partridge.

1This note appeared with the newspaper version and is not my note.
directed by the Holy Spirit; and every family shall have a place, that they may live by themselves. —And every church shall be organized in as close bodies as they can be; and this for a wise purpose:—even so. Amen.

persons have left their companions for the sake of adultery, and they themselves are the offenders, and their companions are living, they shall be cast out from among you.

76. And again, I say unto you, that ye shall be watchful and careful, with all inquiry, that ye receive none such among you if they are married;

77. And if they are not married, they shall repent of all their sins or ye shall not receive them.

78. And again, every person who belongeth to this church of Christ, shall observe to keep all the commandments and covenants of the church.

79. And it shall come to pass, that if any persons among you shall kill they shall be delivered up and dealt with according to the laws of the land; for remember that he hath no forgiveness; and it shall be proved according to the laws of the land.

80. And if any man or woman shall commit adultery, he or she shall be tried before two elders of the church, or more, and every word shall be established against him or her by two witnesses of the church, and not of the enemy; but if there are more than two witnesses it is bettter.

81. But he or she shall be
condemned by the mouth of two witnesses; and the elders shall lay the case before the church, and the church shall lift up their hands against him or her, that they may be dealt with according to the law of God.

82. And if it can be, it is necessary that the bishop be present also.

83. And thus ye shall do in all cases which shall come before you.

84. And if a man or woman shall rob, he or she shall be delivered up unto the law of the land.

85. And if he or she shall steal, he or she shall be delivered up unto the law of the land.

86. And if he or she shall lie, he or she shall be delivered up unto the law of the land.

87. And if he or she do any manner of iniquity, he or she shall be delivered up unto the law, even that of God.

88. And if thy brother or sister offend thee, thou shalt take him or her between him or her and thee alone; and if he or she confess thou shalt be reconciled.

89. And if he or she confess not thou shalt deliver him or her up unto the church, not to the members, but to the elders. And it shall be done in a meeting, and that not before the world.
90. And if thy brother or sister offend many, he or she shall be chastened before many.

91. And if any one offend openly, he or she shall be rebuked openly, that he or she may be ashamed. And if he or she confess not, he or she shall be delivered up unto the law of God.

92. If any shall offend in secret, he or she shall be rebuked in secret, that he or she may have opportunity to confess in secret to him or her whom he or she has offended, and to God, that the church may not speak reproachfully of him or her.

93. And thus shall ye conduct in all things.
APPENDIX II

"LEASE AND LOAN" FORMS AND THE PROPHET'S LETTER CONCERNING INHERITANCES

The only complete lease-and-loan forms that have survived are those for Titus Billings, who was one of the original leaders of Sidney Rigdon's communist "Family" in Kirtland.

Four documents are here presented: (A) the consecration made by Titus Billings to bishop Edward Partridge; (B) the stewardship ("lease") of land made out by bishop Edward Partridge to Titus Billings and including the "loan" of personal property; (C) the revised stewardship form ("lease and loan") made out by Bishop Edward Partridge to Benjamin F. G. Himes; and (D) the letter of instruction from Joseph Smith to Bishop Edward Partridge concerning consecrations and stewardships.

It will be noted that the first three documents—the lease-and-loan forms—are neither signed nor sealed nor dated, leading one to believe that Bishop Partridge made them out as rough copies. Indeed, it was the thriftiness of the Bishop in using the backs of the forms to draft and record correspondence that accounts for the survival of these forms.

The first two documents, those referring to Titus Billings, were very inaccurately printed in the official Mormon History of the Church. The third document, the stewardship form made out to Benjamin F. G. Himes, has never before been printed. That the Himes form was a revised

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1See volume I, pp. 365-367, note.

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version of the Billings form has never before been noted. The text of
this Eames version was tightened to prepare the church for unscrupulous
apostates.

There is some reason to doubt that the land described in the
Titus Billings deed or "lease" was ever recorded or conveyed. A thorough
title search made in 1916 by a member of the Reorganized Church of Latter
Day Saints (Independence, Mo.) showed that the tract in question was con-
veyed "by the United States Government to the State of Missouri, June 27,
1827; and from the State of Missouri to Adam Christinson, Dec. 5,
1833." From 1833 to 1916 neither the name of Partridge nor of Billings
ever appeared on the Jackson county real estate abstracts.

But there is every reason to believe that the anti-Mormon mobs
who illegally took over--stole--the Mormon lands in Jackson county falsi-
fi ed the land records to hide their theft. At any rate, on September
20, 1830 elder Ezra Booth wrote to Partridge announcing that he (Booth)
had apostatized upon his return to Kirtland from an inspection trip to
Zion; and in this letter Booth tried to persuade Partridge to do like-
wise. Among other things he wrote: "Transfer the lands you hold in
your hands, to the persons whose money paid for it." 3

The fourth document is a copy made (and amply supplied with com-
mas) by Partridge of a letter to himself from Joseph Smith. The Prophet
wrote the original of the letter on May 2, 1833 in Kirtland. Partridge's
copy may be found, along with the lease-and-loan forms, as a "copy of a

\[1\] The significance of this revision has been discussed in the
text, above, chap. v, pp. 195-194.

\[2\] Journal of History, XVII (1921), 112.

\[3\] Ezra Booth, Letter No. 6, in E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, pp.
201-210.
letter received from Joseph Smith, Jun, June, 1833" in the folder of
Edward Partridge's correspondence; Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake
City.

A. CONSECRATION MADE BY TITUS BILLINGS

Note: All handwriting is in italics. (Ed.)

BE IT KNOWN, THAT I, Titus Billings Of Jackson county, and state of
Missouri, having become a member of the church of Christ, organized
according to law, and established by the revelations of the Lord, on
the 6th day of April, 1830, do, of my own free will and accord, having
first paid my just debts, grant and hereby give unto Edward Partridge
of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, bishop of said church, the
following described property, viz:— Sundry articles of furniture
valued fifty five dollars twenty seven cents,—also two beds, bedding
and extra clothing valued seventy three dollars twenty five cents,—
also farming utensils valued forty one dollars,—also one horse, two
waggons two cows and two calves valued one hundred forty seven dollars

in Jackson County Mo. 1

For the purpose of purchasing lands, and building up the New Jeru-
salem, even Zion, and for relieving the wants of the poor and needy.
For which I the said Titus Billings do covenant and bind myself and
my heirs forever, to release all my right and interest to the above
described property, unto him the said Edward Partridge bishop of said
church. And I the said Edward Partridge bishop of said church, having
received the above described property, of the said Titus Billings do
bind myself, that I will cause the same to be expended for the above-

1Handwritten insertion in the original after "lands." (Editor's
note.)
mentioned purposes of the said Titus Billings to the satisfaction of said church; and in case I should be removed from the office of bishop of said church, by death or otherwise, I hereby bind myself and my heirs forever, to make over to my successor in office, for the benefit of said church, all of the above described property, which may then be in my possession.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, WE have hereunto set our hands and seals this _______ day of _______ in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty _______

IN PRESENCE OF ____________

(SEAL)

(SEAL)

3. STEWARDSHIP ASSIGNED TO TITUS BILLINGS

(Note: all handwriting is in italics. (Ed.)

BE IT KNOWN, THAT I, Edward Partridge Of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, bishop of the church of Christ, organized according to law, and established by the revelation of the Lord, on the 6th day of April, 1830, have leased, and by these presents do lease unto Titus Billings of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, a member of said church, the following described piece or parcel of land, being a part of section No. three township No. forty nine range No. thirty two situated in Jackson county, and state of Missouri, and is bounded as follows, viz:-- beginning eighty rods E. from the S. W. corner of S° Sec.
thence N. one hundred and sixty rods, thence E. twenty seven rods 25 L.
thence S. one hundred and sixty rods thence W. twenty seven rods 25 L.
to the place of beginning containing twenty seven & ½ acres be the same
more or less subject to roads and highways.

And also have loaned the following described property, viz:— Sundry
articles of furniture valued fifty five dollars twenty seven cents,—
also two beds, bedding and clothing valued seventy three dollars twenty
five cents,—also sundry farming utensils valued forty one dollars,—
also one horse, two cows, two calves and two waggons valued one hundred
and forty seven dollars.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the above described property by him the said Titus
Billings to be used and occupied as to him shall seem meet and proper.

And as a consideration for the use of the above described property, I
the said Titus Billings do bind myself to pay the taxes, and also to
pay yearly unto the said Edward Partridge bishop of said church, or
his successor in office, for the benefit of said church, all that I
shall make or accumulate more than is needful for the support and com-
fort of myself and family. And it is agreed by the parties, that this
lease and loan shall be binding during the life of the said Titus
Billings unless he transgress, and is not deemed worthy by the author-
ity of the church, according to its laws, to belong to the church. And
in that case I the said Titus Billings do acknowledge that I forfeit
all claim to the above described leased and loaned property, and hereby
bind myself to give back the leased, and also pay an equivalent for the
loaned, for the benefit of said church, unto the said Edward Partridge
bishop of said church, or his successor in office. And further, in case
of said Titus Billings or family's inability in consequence of infirmity or old age, to provide for themselves while members of this church.

I the said Edward Paybridge bishop of said church, do bind myself to administer to their necessities out of any funds in my hands appropriated for that purpose, not otherwise disposed of, to the satisfaction of the church. And further, in case of the death of the said Titus Billings his wife or widow, being at the time a member of said church, has claim upon the above described leased and loaned property, upon precisely the same conditions that her said husband had them, as above described; and the children of the said Titus Billings in case of the death of both their parents, also have claim upon the above described property, for their support, until they shall become of age, and no longer; subject to the same conditions yearly that their parents were: provided however, should the parents not be members of said church, and in possession of the above described property at the time of their deaths, the claim of the children as above described, is null and void.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, WE have hereunto set our hands and seals this

[Blank] day of [Blank] in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty [Blank]

IN PRESENCE OF

(SEAL)

(SEAL)
C. REVISED STEWARDSHIP FORM

(Note: All handwriting is in italics. (Ed.)

BE IT KNOWN, THAT I, EDWARD PARTRIDGE, of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, bishop of the church of Christ, organized according to law, and established by the revelations of the Lord, on the sixth day of April, 1830, have leased, and by these presents do lease unto

Benjamin Fames of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, a member of said church, the following described piece or parcel of land, being a part of section No. ___ township No. ___ range No. ___

___ situated in Jackson county, and state of Missouri, and is bounded as follows, viz:

And also have leased the following described property, viz:-- sundry articles of furniture valued fourteen dollars twenty-five cents,--also two beds, bedding and clothing valued thirty-two dollars seventy-five cents,--also sundry farming utensils valued ten dollars seventy-five cents, also one yoke of cattle and one cow valued thirty-eight dollars

I HAVE AND TO HOLD the above described property, by him the said Benjamin Fames to be used and occupied as to him shall seem meet and proper, during his life, unless he transgress and is not esteemed worthy, by the authority of the church according to its law, to belong to the church; and in that case I the said Benjamin Fames do acknowledge that I forfeit all claim to the above described property, and hereby bind myself to quit the said leased premises, and also to pay an equivalent for the loaned, for the benefit of said church, unto the
said EDWARD PARTRIDGE, bishop of said church, or his successor in office. And as a consideration for the use of the above described property, I the said Benjamin Sames do bind myself to pay the taxes, and also to pay yearly unto the said EDWARD PARTRIDGE, bishop of said church, or his successor in office, for the benefit of said church, all that I shall make or accumulate more than is needful for the support and comfort of myself and family. And in case of the said Benjamin Sames and family's inability to provide for themselves while members of said church, I the said EDWARD PARTRIDGE bishop of said church, do bind myself to administer to their necessities out of any funds in my hands appropriated for that purpose, not otherwise disposed of, to the satisfaction of said church. And in case of the death of the said Benjamin Sames his wife or widow, being at the same time a member of said church, has claim upon the above described leased and loaned property, upon precisely the same conditions that her said husband had then, as above described; and the children of the said Benjamin Sames in case of the death of both their parents, also have claim upon the above described property for their support, until they shall become of age; subject to the same conditions yearly that their parents were. Provided however, should the parents be found transgressors of the law of said church, and be expelled from the same, before their death, the claim of their children is null and void. But after said children become of age, if members of said church, they have claim upon the Lord's storehouse for inheritances.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this __ day of __ in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and __

IN PRESENCE OF (SEAL)

(SEAL)
Beloved Brother Edward,

I commence answering your letter & sincere request to me, by begging your pardon for not having addressed you, more particularly in letters which I have written to Zion, for I have always felt, although a letter written to any one in authority in Zion, would be the property of all, & and it mattered but little to whom it was directed. But I am satisfied that this is an error, for instruction that is given pointedly, and expressly to us, designating our names as individuals, seems to have double power and influence over our minds, I am thankful to the Lord for the testimony of his spirit, which he has given me, concerning your honesty, and sincerity before him, and the Lord loveth you, and also Zion, for he chasteneth whom he loveth, and scourgeth every son & daughter whom he receiveth, and he, will not suffer you to be confounded, and of this thing you may rest assured, notwithstanding, all the threatening of the enemy, and your perils among false brethren, For verily I say unto you, that this is my prayer, and I verily believe the prayer
of all the saints in Kirtland, recorded in heaven, in these words, Heavenly Father in the name of Jesus Christ thy son, preserve brother Edward, the bishop of thy church, and give him wisdom, knowledge & power, & the holy ghost, that he may impart to thy saints in Zion their inheritance, & to every man his portion of meat in due season. And now, this is our confidence and record on high, therefore fear not little flock, for it has been your father's good will to give the kingdom. And now, I will proceed to tell you my views, concerning consecration, property, and giving inheritances, &c. The law of the Lord, binds you to receive, whatsoever property is consecrated, by deed. The consecrated property, is considered the residue kept for the Lords store house, and it is given for this consideration, for to purchase inheritances for the poor, this, any man has a right to do, agreeable to all laws of our country, to donate, give or consecrate all that he feels disposed to give, and it is your duty, to see that whatsoever is given, is given legally, therefore, it must be given for the consideration of the poor saints, and in this way no man can take any advantage of you in law. Again, concerning inheritances, you are bound by the law of the Land, to give a deed, securing to him who receives inheritances, his inheritance, for an everlasting inheritance, or in other words, to be his individual property, his private stewardship, and if he is found a transgressor & should be cut off, out of the church, his inheritance is his still and he is delivered over to the buffetings of satan, till the day of redemption. But the property which he consecrated to the poor, for their benefit, & inheritance, & stewardship, he cannot obtain again by the law of the Lord. Thus you see the propriety of this law, that rich men cannot have power to disinherit the poor by obtaining
again that which they have consecrated, which is the residue, signified in the law, that you will find in the second paragraph of the extract from the law, in the second number. And now bother [Sig] Edward, be assured that we all feel thankful, that the brethren in Zion are begin-ning to humble themselves, & trying to keep the commandments of the Lord, which is our prayer to God, you may all be able to do, and now may the grace of God be with all amen.

[Signed] Joseph Smith Jun

The above is a true copy of a letter, directed & sent, & subscribed agreeable thereto

[No signature]

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1See Book of Commandments, Chap. xliv, verses 27-29. (Editor's note.)
APPENDIX III

THE HARMONISTS AND THE MORMONS

The Harmony Society of Economy (now Ambridge) in western Pennsylvania was the most successful single utopian community in the history of the United States. For one hundred years between 1805 and 1905 the Harmonists—or Rappites as they are commonly called—built and lived in three communities: Harmony, Butler county, Pennsylvania; New Harmony, Indiana (purchased by the famous English utopian, Robert Owen); and finally, Economy, Pennsylvania.

Founded in the late eighteenth century in south Germany by "Vater" George Rapp, the Harmonists were a product of the German Pietistic tradition, a tradition that was very rich in communitarian sects. Because of persecution and war in their homeland the Society emigrated to the United States in 1804.

There were two towns named Harmony, Pennsylvania, in the early nineteenth century. Sometimes, because of confusion as to the location of the Harmony of the Rappites (Pennsylvania), it has been erroneously supposed that Joseph Smith was directly influenced by that community. The Harmony in which Joseph Smith met his first wife and translated much of the Book of Mormon stood on the banks of the Susquehanna river, in Susquehanna county, near the modern town of Susquehanna. Although there were some Rappites in nearby Lycoming county, the Harmony of Vater George Rapp was located at the other end of the state: thirty miles north of Pittsburgh, in Butler county.

1For example, Joseph A. Geddes, The United Order Among the Mormons (New York, 1922), 19, citing—ill-advisedly—Joseph and Heman Smith, Church History (Lemoli, Iowa, 1897), I, 17.

2W. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 29.

3Charles Nordhoff, Communitistic Societies of the United States (New York, 1875), 70-71; Karl J. Arndt, "The Harmony Society from its beginnings . . . to its liquidation . . . in 1905," a description of research in progress.
In evaluating the nature of the relations that existed between the Harmonists (Rappites) and the Mormons in the 1830's, one must begin with the wave of apostasies that hit the Rappite community of Economy about 1831.

Professor Karl J. Arndt, who for many years has been writing a definitive history of the Harmony Society, has maintained in an oft-cited article that Mormon communitarianism may be traced back through Sidney Rigdon and a few Rappite conversions to the Rappite community of Economy. If Professor Arndt had been aware of the later Mormon-Rappite contact made through Jesse Gause, he might have considered his case for a Rappite influence on Mormonism an airtight one.

But the truth of the matter is that at the root of Mormon communitarianism lay the Rigdonite Family and the Family came from the Shakers and not the Rappites. At best the Rappites could only have provided Rigdon with an example of just how successful the Ancient Order of Things could be. This much can be admitted.

It is appropriate, before attempting to assess the role of the Rappites in Mormonism, to review some of the facts presented in the main text.

In 1831 the Shakers of North Union were rising up in protest against the wilful ways of Ashbel Kitchell. And about the same time a few miles up the road from the Shaker community the Rigdonites were experiencing even greater internal dissension; for the Mormon "Heralds" to the Western Lamanites

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2See chapter 11, above.

3I have done so above, p. 188.

4Chapters 11 and 11, above.
were tearing apart Sidney Rigdon's Family at Kirtland with their exciting stories of a Golden Bible. To complete the chain of obscure but related religious disturbances, Joseph Smith, having just been cast out of his father-in-law's Pennsylvania home, was back in New York state. Here he found conditions even more unfavorable to his ideas and was seeking an open door to the West in order to escape the mounting spirit of persecution all about him. These widely separated intramural squabbles all came to focus in the Western Reserve of northern Ohio in 1830-31. A few Rappites had joined the Mormons before 1832, but it was only after this date that Economy lost its largest number of members.

By 1832 the flowering of Economy had just about reached its peak. Most of its buildings were up, and the Rappite doctrines of Bible communism and celibacy, neither of them practiced before their arrival in America, were firmly established. Locally the community so dominated all commerce west of the Alleghenies that in 1829 a writer in a Pittsburgh newspaper agitated for its dissolution by the fiat of the Pennsylvania legislature. Beyond the borders of Pennsylvania the great success of Rappite communitarianism brought the colony international renown. Even the decidedly non-utopian secretary of state, Henry Clay, together with many other leading figures, took pains to write letters of introduction to Economy for the many distinguished foreign visitors to the community. Aside from a few signs of unrest among younger members of marriageable age, the community was placid, happy, and rich.

Among the many letters of introduction which came to Economy in 1829 was a momentous one from Germany asking Father Rapp that the forty followers of one Bernhard Mueller, self-styled Count Maximilian de Leon, the Lion of

Judah, be permitted to come to America and join the Rappite community. Having received some sort of tentative acceptance, the Count and his party left Frankfurt-am-Main for Pennsylvania.

Count de Leon arrived at Economy in the fall of 1831 in a manner befitting his impressive titles—if not quite in harmony with the communitarian ideas of plainness in all things. Like Joseph Smith in the last stages of his career, the Lion of Judah conceived of himself as a conquering general, and when in October, 1831 his imposing coach rattled up to the gates of Economy behind four prancing horses, he stepped out in full uniform surrounded by several liveried attendants. The Economy band struck up a rousing tune and all the members of the community turned out to welcome their new brothers.

But almost overnight this joy of the Rappites turned to bitterness and gall; for Count de Leon soon announced that he had a mission from God to take over Economy from the beloved Vater Rapp. When this brazen attempt failed the Count began preaching the desirability of marriage for all, and to the horror of some older members he soon won over about two hundred of the seven hundred Economites.

The temptation to marry was nearly irresistible to the younger Economites and the timing of the Count's announcement was perfect. Since the early summer preceding his arrival many of the younger generation had already been apostatizing—"going off to copulate," as the assistant trustee of Economy liked to say. Among these apostates was one Magdalene Zundel.

Of the dissenters who apostatized after the arrival of the Count in 1831, not all joined the Count's group. Several became Mormons, especially after the visit of Jesse Gause, a Mormon missionary who preached at Economy a year after the Count's arrival. One such dissenter was John Zundel, possibly

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1R. L. Baker to Frederick Rapp, Economy, Sept. 21, 1831, Harmony Society Archives.
2See above, pp. 185-186.
Magdalene Zundel’s father. John Zundel was a member of one of the oldest, most influential and most numerous Rappite families. He and several other apostates later journeyed to northern Ohio, possibly as a result of Gause’s preaching. In Ohio they joined the Mormons, who were not in the least opposed to marriage.

John Zundel tried to convert his younger brother Jacob, but without success. Jacob was apparently interested in doctrine as much as in marital rites, for when Count de Leon arrived, Jacob thought he saw a greater truth than Vater Rapp’s and transferred his allegiance, along with that of his family, to the Count. Later Jacob himself became a Mormon.

The Count was not satisfied with his harvest of concupiscent tares at Economy; he wished to reap their money as well. The amount of cash he was offered by Vater Rapp to go away was not enough; for at this time the Rappites were using discharge papers by which the community gave each apostate fifty dollars, asking in return that the apostate sign a certificate acknowledging the receipt of money and promising not to sue for more. To give more than fifty dollars would be a denial of principle.

For the two hundred followers of the Count the fifty-dollar discharge bonuses would amount to only $10,000, so the Count demanded back "wages" for the several years of work done by each of his converts. The Economites who remained faithful to Vater Rapp finally agreed to give the Count the enormous sum of one hundred and five thousand dollars and in March, 1832 the Lion of Judah withdrew to Phillipsburg (now Monaca), Pennsylvania, to establish a separate non-caliphate community.

Within a year the Phillipsburgers had squandered all their money and in April, 1833 a delegation of eighty tried to extort still more money by mob tactics at Economy. They were held at bay by some women in the upper stories of the buildings armed with water and other more persuasive forms of ammunition, and after a little thieving and vandalism the Phillipsburgers were driven
off with outside help.

The Count did not survive this ignominious defeat and prepared to go west. Some seceders repented and were readmitted to Economy. Others joined another newly arrived German Prophet named Wilhelm Keil, and left to establish the communities of Bethel in Missouri and Aurora in Oregon. A few moved to Ohio, possibly to join the German community of Zoar. Some loyally followed the Count—whose noble title was now exposed as fraudulent—to the wilds of Arkansas only to see their supposedly immortal leader die a mortal's death on the banks of the Red river at Alexandria, Louisiana, in August, 1834. Some were still living in the Phillipsburg area in Beaver county in 1836, and several of these became Mormons.

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Beaver county, where the young Rigdon had studied theology, was early a center of Mormon evangelism in western Pennsylvania. By about 1835 a small Mormon church had been established there by a famous missionary named Orson Pratt. This church was headed by Dr. Sampson Avery, who was to become prominent among the Mormons as the organizer of the "Danites," a group of bodyguards for the Prophet. In 1837 another prominent Mormon and former Shaker, Claden Bishop, spent much of his time preaching there. When one of the many Mormon missionaries came to preach there in 1836 at least one of the followers of Count de Leon, Jacob Zundel, embraced the new gospel.

Jacob Zundel, who had rejected Mormonism in 1831, when his brother John preached it to him, now went directly to Kirtland to look over the church he had joined. This visit only strengthened him in his new faith, and he soon

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2 Millennial Star, XXVII, 87; Messenger and Advocate, II, 223.
3 Journal History, Jun. 4, 1837; Messenger and Advocate, III, 315.
returned to Economy and tried to convert the whole Rappite body. Zundel was unsuccessful in this attempt, but Vater Rapp was later sympathetic enough to the Mormon cause to send some money to the Prophet to aid the Mormon poor.

Both John and Jacob Zundel, the two most important Rappite converts to Mormonism, remained loyal to their adopted faith through all the intense persecution of the Mormons in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. The trustee of the Rappite community of Economy attributed their apostasy to lust, but the prospects for gratification which were opened up to them by the Mormon doctrine of polygamy after 1843 never changed their monogamous habits. A hundred years later their descendants could point out with pride that a Zundel had helped build the first Mormon temple at Kirtland and that another had been doorkeeper for the second temple in Nauvoo.

For about forty years after his conversion Jacob Zundel doggedly wrestled with the souls of his former co-religionists, emphasizing always the great similarities between the teachings of "Vater" Rapp and Joseph Smith—especially in the matter of the millennial kingdom:

What brought our fathers to this land from Germany? Was it not the call which was to come out of Babylon? The Lord is establishing His Kingdom in America—and this was also the main teaching of your father George Rapp.

Exhortations like these emanating from Utah many years later fell on deaf ears. After 1846, when Mormon polygamy came out into the open, the celibate Rappites wished to hear nothing more of Mormonism.

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1George L. Zundel, "The Story of the Kirtlands" (State College, Pa.), ms. in the Utah Genealogical Society. See Jacob Zundel to R. L. Baker, Nauvoo, Apr. 3, 1845. Jacob lost $1,650.00 in the Missouri persecutions. Both John and Jacob lived in Nauvoo. See The Wasp, Apr. 22, 1842; and the Journal History, Nov. 29, 1839.

2Mr. Joseph W. Zundel of Salt Lake City for permission to consult his exhaustive ms. genealogy of the Zundel family.
The conversion of Jacob Zundel in 1836 marked the climax of a long-standing series of Mormon-Rappite contacts that had begun in 1832 and that had existed as early as 1831. The conversion of the Zundels and several other Rappites to Mormonism has been known for some time and has formed the sole basis of Professor Arndt’s theory that Sidney Rigdon “modelled” his Family—and indirectly Smith’s United Order—on the Rappite community of Economy.

But this theory is a groundless extrapolation, and even the new evidence, presented in the text above, of Causse’s contact with the Rappites, makes it no stronger. Doubtless Sidney Rigdon knew and admired the Rappite communities of Harmony and Economy before his conversion to Mormonism, but the United Order of Enoch arose out of the Rigdonite Family at Kirtland. And Rigdon’s Family was, in turn, merely a Shaker family writ large.

In originally proposing that the Rappites inspired the communitarianism of the Mormons, Professor Arndt admitted that he did not really have sufficient evidence to substantiate his opinions. But he was also in error concerning the chronology of Rigdon’s early career—and the dates of Rigdon’s movements are crucial to his argument. And he was, moreover, unfamiliar with the nature of Rigdon’s communist Family and unaware of the fact that Joseph Smith had transformed Rigdonite communitarianism into a “more perfect law of the Lord.”

Professor Arndt based his oft-cited article mainly on four letters written by Jacob Zundel. But these letters do not begin to support the enormous theological burden he has placed on them. They were written in 1846 to Mr. Jacob Henrici, Water Cure, Pa., [early spring], 1870. Originals in the library of the State University of Pennsylvania.

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1 For the opinion that Rigdon modelled Mormon communitarianism on that of the Rappites, see Karl J. Arndt, "The Harmonists and the Mormons," 6-9.

2 See above, pp. 55-56.

3 See footnote cited on previous page.
(and after) and contain nothing that would connect the Zundels directly with the United Order of Enoch. The first two letters make requests for charity, and all four are mainly concerned with proving the truth of Mormonism to the Economites. By 1872 Zundel had apparently given up any hope of saving the Economites and decided to save them in the spirit world by proxy baptisms; for in this year he addressed a fifth letter to "Mr. Jacob Henrich, Jonathan Lenz and other friends," requesting the vital statistics needed for the proxy baptism of certain old friends.

All in all there is no evidence that the Rappites had any more influence on Mormonism than what I have suggested in my text.  

\[1\] Above, pp.
APPENDIX IV

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DUAL PRIESTHOOD

Mormon church government was based on two priesthoods, the Priesthood of Aaron and the Priesthood of Melchizedek. This dual priesthood provided a sacerdotal authority for the latter-day gospel, and between 1830 and 1834 the Prophet organized and elaborated a whole hierarchy of offices founded on this dual priesthood. The dual priesthood not only developed outside of and after the Book of Mormon, it also came in answer to specific needs. The first need arose even before the Mormon bible was finished—from the skepticism of Oliver Cowdery, one of the Prophet's scribes in the translating of the golden plates. Cowdery pointed out that the Book of Mormon did not provide the "keys," or authority, for performing baptism. A second need was to correct an inaccuracy in the Book of Mormon concerning the authority to ordain: the Book of Mormon had implied that all elders could ordain priests and teachers.

Cowdery, a former school teacher, had greater pretensions to literacy

1 For a brief description of Mormon church administration as it stands today, see C. Homer Durham, "Administrative Organization of the Mormon Church," Political Science Quarterly, LVII (1942), 51-71. The standard Mormon treatise on church government is John A. Widtsoe (comp.), Priesthood and Church Government (Salt Lake City, 1939). The best brief historical sketch of early church government may be found in P. W. Brodie, No Man Knows My History (New York, 1945).

There is no general historical treatment of Mormon doctrine beyond that of Professor George B. Arbaugh, "Evolution of Mormon Doctrine," Church History, IX (1940), 157-169. This article is only a sketchy treatment of the Mormon conception of God. Arbaugh argues that between about 1830 and about 1844 Mormonism went from a kind of Unitarianism (monism) through a kind of Trinitarianism (tritheism) to an outright polytheism. While this general trend may be granted, Arbaugh's treatment is far too general and relies too much on secondary works to be of much value. Moreover, his judgments wrongly assume (1) the validity of the Spaulding theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon and (2) the all important role of Sidney Rigdon and his Campbellite notions in the formation of Mormon theology. Arbaugh's views are spelled out in detail in his Revelation in Mormonism (Chicago, 1932), chapters i-ii.

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than the great majority of Smith's converts. The Saints counted very few
highly educated persons among this membership and very early the church had
developed a profound distrust of formal learning. Despite the New England
emphasis on education the church never bred humanists and intellectuals—
except as apostates.

In the spring of 1829 as Cowdery sat taking down Joseph's dictation—
from the opposite side of a screen which the Prophet had set up to keep pro-
fane eyes from the plates of Moroni—many a doubt about the truth of the Book
of Mormon assailed him. Perhaps the young scribe remembered another Vermont
prophet, another millennialist and hunter of buried treasures, named Winchell;
for Cowdery had been a follower of Winchell just before meeting Joseph Smith.
When he expressed his doubts, Cowdery taxed the young Prophet's imagination
in explaining them away.

At one point towards the end of the translation, when Cowdery wrote
down Joseph's translation of a passage concerning baptism for the remission of
sins, both the Prophet and his scribe felt the need to inquire of the Lord for
particulars. Thereupon John the Baptist, in the form of an angel, descended
in a cloud of light and conferred upon them the Priesthood of Aaron, which
gave authority to baptize. The supplicants immediately baptized and then
ordained one another. The sequence was illogical, but a start had to be made.
The Priesthood of Aaron did not give authority for the "laying on of hands,
that is, ordaining others. Only the higher Priesthood of Melchizedek could

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1See Joseph's sneers at the "learned priests" of the day in his History
Mormons (Chicago, 1957), Chapter ix, "Sources of Strain and Conflict."

2David W. Ludlum, Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850 (New York,
1939), 239-243.

3D & C, 8; History of the Church, I, 36. See also the editor's foot-
note in the History of the Church, I, 43.

bestow such authority and this higher priesthood had not yet been conferred.

Until it was conferred Joseph refused to permit even his oldest brother, Hyrum, to spread the Gospel without first receiving the authority for baptism and ordination.\(^2\) All these things occurred outside the Book of Mormon.\(^3\)

Late in 1830 the first trickle of converts forced the Prophet once again to confront the question of priesthood and authority: by what authority were new members, many of them anxious to preach, to be ordained to the Aaronic Priesthood? By September, 1830, there was a crying need for ordained elders to reap the growing harvest and to baptize the converts. Not until this concrete situation arose did the Prophet hint at the second or higher Priesthood of Melchizedek, the keys of which had been held for about 1900 years by Peter, James, and John.

So far the Prophet had only hinted at the new priesthood. But by June, 1831 the rapid growth of his church in Ohio permitted him to announce, without resorting to a revelation, that the Lord had restored the higher Priesthood of Melchizedek and that the first "High Priests after the order of

\(^1\)History of the Church, I, 60-61.

\(^2\)D & C, 11: 15-17; History of the Church, I, 44-45.

\(^3\)The Book of Mormon was simple and vague on the matter of ordination or the "call to the ministry." It merely stated that persons who were called elders of the church could ordain priests and teachers by laying on hands in the name of Christ. Book of Mormon (Palmyra, N. Y., 1830), 575 (Mor. 3: 1-3). At the very time the Book of Mormon was coming off the press the Prophet found it necessary to amplify its teachings by two revelations asserting that only the ordained were to preach. See D & C, 20 and 42: 11.

Unlike this first edition of 1830, the modern editions of the Book of Mormon are divided into chapter and verse. Unless otherwise indicated all references are to the page number of the first edition, followed by the chapter and verse citation of the modern editions. Many grammatical and typographical changes were made in the modern editions. And no scholarly edition based on surviving mss. has ever been permitted.

\(^4\)D & C, 27: 6-12. The first four verses of this revelation were written in August, 1830, and the rest in September. Cf. History of the Church, I, 106.
Melchizedek were to be ordained. Now no mere elder was permitted to ordain, but only those holding the higher of the two priesthoods: the Holy Order of Melchizedek.

This higher priesthood was supposedly revealed to the Prophet in 1830, about a year after the revelation of the lesser Priesthood of Aaron. In 1832 he provided for the two priesthoods a genealogy or "succession" that went back to Adam and Aaron, respectively. But he never made exactly clear the origin of the higher priesthood.

Joseph had good reason to be mysterious and circumspect in announcing the dual priesthood, for it was apparently inspired not in a vision of John the Baptist, or by Peter, James, and John, but by two books written by one Reverend James Gray. These two books were published not in New England, but in Philadelphia and Baltimore. According to David Whitmer, one of the original Three Witnesses of the Book of Mormon, it was the widely read Sidney Rigdon, the Prophet's most influential follower, who encouraged Smith to adopt the higher priesthood.

Between 1830 and 1834 the Prophet issued many revelations which greatly elaborated the dual priesthood. As early as 1832 it became the indispensable instrument of personal salvation and of the salvation of the world. That

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1History of the Church, I, 175-176. The Prophet may have finally been persuaded to make the announcement by the influential new convert, Sidney Rigdon.

2F. M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 111, note. The books were: Dissertation on the Coincidence between the Priesthoods of Jesus Christ and Melchizedec (Phila., 1810) and Mediatorial Reign of the Son of God (Baltimore, 1821).

3David Whitmer, An Address to All Believers in Christ, 35. Whitmer (whose forebears, incidentally, were German rather than Yankee) later apostatized, but his testimony seems entirely reliable.

4D & C, 91: 33-42, 48. The word "covenant" as used in these verses refers not to the priesthood, but to the "fulness of the Mormon gospel." See D & C, 66: 2 and the cross-references there given.
same year he sharpened the distinction between the high priesthood and the lower, or Aaronic, priesthood by allocating to each certain lower offices as "necessary appendages." To the high priesthood belonged the elder and the bishop; to the Aaronic priesthood belonged the offices of teacher and deacon. In 1834, when the High Council of the church was organized, its membership was to consist of twelve high priests with the power of deciding as the supreme court of appeal "important difficulties" which might arise in the church. In a revelation of 1835 the Prophet greatly elaborated the biblical background of the high priesthood and its manifold relations to all other offices. At the same time he gave the most fulsome expression to the spiritual importance of the two priesthoods. Of the higher priesthood he announced that the power and authority . . . is to hold the keys of all the spiritual blessings of the church—

To have the privilege of receiving the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, to have the heavens opened unto them, to commune with the general assembly and church of the Firstborn, and to enjoy the communion and presence of God the Father, and Jesus the mediator of the new covenant.

By 1841 the high priesthood was the most important single institution of church government. Now infinitely more important than the lesser priesthood, it was the basic religious qualification for the directors of all the main church organizations—not to mention the offices of Prophet and Twelve Apostles. Toward the end of his life the Prophet seemed to be clothing it with the power of binding and loosing of sins—at least in so far as the office was held by

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1D & C, 81: 29-30.

2D & C, 102. The one or more presidents (verse 1) heading the Council were also high priests.


5D & C, 132: 44-47 (given in July, 1843). There were several other changes in the dual priesthood. After 1831, for example, the high priest was to be ordained not directly by God, but by the direction of a high council or by a general church conference—in the same manner as the President of the High Priesthood and two or three other important officials. D & C, 20: 67;
It is apparent that the dual priesthood, which is the foundation upon which the government of the church grew, arose outside of, and mostly after the Book of Mormon. And it arose as a result of specific needs confronting the young Prophet.

In logical order skepticism over the Book of Mormon had to be overcome, converts made, baptisms conducted, and leaders ordained. All this involved the question of authority—an important rubric in Mormon catechisms to this day. As for the particular doctrines connected with the dual priesthood, chiefly baptism and ordination, they were widely expanded and elaborated as the church moved westward, as it grew in numbers, and as it encountered everywhere persons and printed matter which cannot be identified solely with the New England Mind.

The Prophet maintained that the dual priesthood was divinely revealed. But as has been pointed out above, its more likely source was Reverend James Gray, who published two books on the subject in 1810 and 1821. One may justly surmise, then, that in order to forestall the suspicions of any converts who might have read these books he purposely obfuscated the time and place of its origin.

The Prophet announced the "restoration" of the higher priesthood orally—without issuing a revelation—and successfully avoided printed statements concerning the time and manner of the restoration until 1838, when he began writing his History of the Church. If he had based the new priesthood solely on his imaginative reading of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews (esp. Heb. 5-7), he would not have taken such care to exclude it from his printed revelations.

68: 19. (Verse 67 was added some time after the revelation was given. The high council was later defined as the First Presidency of the Melchisedek Priesthood.) About the same time he was given "authority to officiate in all the lesser offices." D & C, 68: 19.

In 1832 the high priesthood was defined as including the hundred and forty-four thousand Israelites mentioned in the seventh chapter of the Book of Revelations, as well as most of the Old Testament prophets. D & C, 77: 11; 84: 6 ff.
But his particular notion of the Priesthood of Melchizedek was influenced by the mundane works of Reverend James Gray. Setting the Melchizedek Priesthood doctrine into type would have run the risk of harmful criticism by enemies of the church who might have read Gray and by Saints like David Whitmer, who thought it was an error emanating from Sidney Rigdon. Moreover, by announcing this key "restoration" orally he could create a beneficial sense of awe among his uneducated followers—who were unlikely to have read Gray. And the more flexible oral method could be dramatically timed to the growth and needs of the movement.

When I say that the Prophet "avoided printed statements" on the origin of the Melchizedek Priesthood, I refer to the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants. The former, all too often cited as a source of "Mormonism," contains not the slightest reference to the dual priesthood. The far more important revelations (Doctrine and Covenants), first collected and published in 1833 under the title Book of Commandments, did mention the dual priesthood, but carefully ignored its origin. The Lord's restoration of the portentous Melchizedek priesthood would normally have appeared in this collection of 1833, but there was no clear reference to the origin of the higher priesthood until 1842 (D & C, 128: 21) and even then it was not mentioned by name.

In 1838 the Prophet inserted in his History of the Church a surprising piece of information concerning the origin of the nine-year-old revelation of the lesser Priesthood of Aaron. He remembered John the Baptist having promised at the time (1829) that "the keys of the Priesthood of Melchizedek ... would in due time be conferred on us, and that I should be called the first Elder of the Church, and he (Oliver Cowdery) the second." He thus claimed after nine years that he had always known that the higher Priesthood of Melchizedek was to be revealed. By 1838 he could safely introduce this little elaboration,

\[^1\]History of the Church, I, 40-41. Italicics added.
for the doctrine of the higher priesthood had withstood the test of more than six years' acceptance. And the extra note of intimacy with John the Baptist could only enhance the divinity and prestige of the doctrine.

Joseph first announced and instituted the Priesthood of Melchizedek not in 1829 but in 1831. The later date accords with the evidence and with the history of the church. Joseph's belated explanation, since it contradicts the original oral pronouncement of this infinitely important doctrine, called forth from the most important official historian of the church, Brigham H. Roberts, one of the longest and most complicated series of footnotes in his edition of the Prophet's multi-volume History (1902). Roberts wrote because "there is no definite account of the event [promise of restoration] in the history of the Prophet Joseph, or, for matter of that, in any of our annals." ¹

The real reasons for Roberts' footnotes were apologetical: most early Mormons had soon come to believe that the Melchizedek Priesthood was restored in the spring of 1829, that is, at about the same time as the Aaronic Priesthood. By a number of deductions based on the strained explanation of certain vague phrases of later revelations, Roberts placed the date between May and June, 1829. The only real evidence cited is the chance remark made by Oliver Cowdery in 1848—after an apostasy of eleven years—to the effect that he was with Joseph when the Melchizedek Priesthood was revealed.

Cowdery's testimony stands in direct contradiction to the Prophet's own belated version of the history of the higher priesthood. In 1849, making another comment on the supposed incident of 1829, Cowdery gave no evidence beyond the "assurances" of his own "unfeigned prayer," prayers made many years later.²

¹Ibid., I, 40, note.

²For the Prophet's remarks and for Roberts' exegesis see the History of the Church, I, 40-43, 60-61, 175-176. For a version similar to that which
The vast structure of Mormon church polity still rests on the dual priesthood today. This dual priesthood did not suddenly emerge full blown from the mind of the Prophet and did not appear in the *Book of Mormon*. Originally inspired by the Prophet's reading, it appeared in primitive form in 1831 and then went through a complex evolution between 1831 and 1843, an evolution that was encouraged by the needs of the church and by various influences playing upon the mind of the Prophet.

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I have given see Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, Ill. For further evidence that Cowdery was wrong see John Whitmer, "History of the Church," chapters v and vii, ms. in the office of the Church Historian of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri.
APPENDIX V

THE BOOK OF MORMON AND THE REVELATION OF THE
UNITED ORDER OF ENOCH

It has been maintained in chapter three, above, that the revelation which instituted the United Order of Enoch had no important antecedents in the Book of Mormon.

The Mormon church, on the contrary, officially teaches that the Book of Mormon and the revelations of Joseph Smith form one integrated whole. Thus, the ideals of the United Order of Enoch were first set forth in the Book of Mormon. (See, e.g., the references under note "g," D & C, 49: 20.) According to the church the Order had no relation to historical conditions or to the personality and activities of Joseph the Prophet.

While the word "inheritance" occurs in the Book of Mormon, nothing of a communist or quasi-communist nature was meant by it. Like most of the words and passages of that work, "inheritance" was simply taken over from the language of the King James Bible as part of the Book of Mormon's imitation of Exodus—an imitation which forms the basic theme of the whole Book of Mormon: the migration of some Hebrews to the North American Land of Promise. Joseph made similar use of King James terms like "steward" and "storehouse" in the United Order revelation, but changed their meaning. (Cf. 1 Chr. 27: 25; 28: 1; Deut. 28: 8.)

The usual Book of Mormon passages cited by Mormon students to prove that the United Order of Enoch was foreshadowed by the Book of Mormon are: Mosiah 27: 3, Alma 16: 16, and 1 Nephi 3. But the verses in Mosiah and Alma may be dismissed as obvious Jacksonian clichés—on the order of the anti-Masonic elements in other parts of the Book of Mormon. The verse in 1 Nephi
("all things common") is simply taken from the Acts of the Apostles, after which 4 Nephi and other closing chapters of the Book of Mormon are obviously patterned. Such phrases as these were, like the Book of Mormon as a whole, merely the accidental result of the process of free-association by which he wrote the work. There is no evidence that he intended to put these scattered phrases into practice, to institutionalize them. Indeed, there is not even any certainty that he consciously composed the Book of Mormon as the bible for a new religion.

On the other hand, one can find as much justification for Jacksonian "liberal capitalism" in the work as for Christian communism. And Mormons and non-Mormon students of the Order will agree that the Order never was a Christian communist institution; that the Prophet never breathed the phrase "all things common" except to reject it; and that he pointedly eschewed the phrase in the United Order revelation. The most one can say is that the Book of Mormon reveals a belief in equality—and this, far from being uniquely communitarian—was a universal value of the age of Jackson.
APPENDIX VI

THE EFFECT OF ENGLISH AND NORWEGIAN CONVERTS ON MORMONISM

It is an interesting and important fact of Mormon history that most Mormon converts in the nineteenth century came not from eastern parts of the United States but from "the north countries" of Europe—where the Lost Tribes were supposed to have lived. About half of these converts were British and 1 most of the rest were Scandinavian. Many of the thousands of Englishmen and Scandinavians who embraced Mormonism between 1837 and 1846 were to become elders, bishops, and apostles.

Cooperative and communist schemes, together with dreams of utopian communities, flourished in western Europe, especially in northern, Protestant Europe. Indeed, some of the most important communities in America—Owenites, Rappites, Shakers—were European foundations. And the areas in which most Mormon converts were made—England and Scandinavia—are those which were becoming notable for their pioneering work in the cooperative movement.

Although the Scandinavians and the English were to form the majority of Mormon converts soon after 1850, their numerical proportion to the native Americans was already remarkable before 1850. The first mass conversions

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1. Nels Anderson, Desert Saints, 117, 280; Richard L. Evans, A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain (Salt Lake City, 1937), 245; Parley P. Pratt, A Voice of Warning, 179. The standard work on Mormon migration from Scandinavia is William Mulder, Homeward to Zion; the Mormon Migration from Scandinavia (Minneapolis, 1957). Mormon migration from England is touched upon in Wilbur S. Shepperson, British Emigration to North America (Minneapolis, 1957), but this work is less concerned with emigration than with British attitudes toward emigration. For Mormon emigration see Philip A. M. Taylor, "Mormon Emigration from Great Britain, 1840-70," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cambridge Univ., 1953?)

2. The various French theorists from Morelly to Fourier and Blanc, while sometimes religious, were non-Catholic and often anti-Christian.
were made in England. Between the beginning of the British mission in 1837 and the beginning of the westward trek from Nauvoo to the Great Basin in February, 1846 about 5,000 Mormon converts left England. By 1850 this number had been at least doubled. Over 3,000 arrived in Nauvoo alone in the six years between 1840 and 1846, and during the half dozen years after 1846 the number of Englishmen in Utah alone reached 20,000.

The Mormon missionaries came to England at a time when millennial, communitarian, and cooperative schemes were becoming quite popular, and they worked in regions that were hotbeds of such activities. The English social experimentation, both in utopian communities and outside of them, tended to take the form of cooperation rather than pure Christian communism.

Cooperative roots in England go back as far as 1760, when some dockyard workers at Woolwich and Chatham founded their own corn mills on a cooperative basis. After many years of quarrels, politics, and economic struggle, the cooperative movement finally culminated in the successful establishment of the first Rochdale cooperative in 1844. A majority of the earlier cooperative societies were connected with sectarian communities or very similar utopian ventures, such as the Owenite "Villages of Cooperation," which were short-lived protests in the 1830's against the ways of "the old immoral world." These villages were planned by the Universal Community Society of Rational Religionists through a central agency called the Association of All Classes of All Nations. These societies and others like them flourished in the areas


2 Henry Mayhew, The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints. With the Memoirs of Joseph Smith, the "American Mahomet," (1st ed.; London, 1851), vi. (This work appeared under various titles and pseudonyms.)

3 Richard L. Evans, A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain (Salt Lake City, 1937), 214.

that yielded most of the converts to Mormonism: Lancashire, Yorkshire, the East Midlands, Birmingham, and Manchester.

Utopian cooperators and Mormon consecrators were cultivating not only the same geographic areas, but also the same social-economic and religious fields. Evidence for the socio-economic sources of the Mormon converts is somewhat imperfect, but urban and industrial elements probably predominated and almost all of these came from London, South Wales, Birmingham, Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, Sheffield, and Bristol. During the first large peak in English Mormon emigration in 1841-42 long-term financial aid was offered by the church; but this did not mean that the converts came from the depressed classes. And at no time was economic crisis a decisive factor in conversion to Mormonism.

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1Ibid., 32-33, 54-55.

2It is sometimes thought that Mormon missionaries made little headway in London, but Elder Lorenzo Snow boasted much success there. Times and Seasons, 7, 636.


Cannon states, with very little evidence, that the migration was chiefly economically motivated, the converts coming from "the slums and downtrodden peasantry of Europe" (Migration, 436, 440; "The English Mormons," 899.) Yet, with some disregard for the contradiction, he is also able to give evidence that the British converts were well off ("Migration," 442, 447).

The sources do not speak of the "downtrodden." Henry Caswall, an English minister who did not close his eyes to the appeal of Mormonism, asserted that they were "by no means of the lowest class." Caswall, City of the Mormons, 4. Caswall, too, could contradict himself, but only in a polemical passage. Ibid., 31. Writing of English conversions in 1849, another witness, Henry Mayhew, stated that the 2,500 Mormon immigrants consisted chiefly "of farmers and mechanics of a superior class." Mayhew, The Mormons, v. In 1850 Brigham Young made it a matter of policy for the English mission to avoid paupers and "idlers." See his advice to mission president Orson Hyde, Millennial Star, Apr. 15, 1850.

Economic motives did perhaps play a greater part in English Mormon emigration after 1850, when the church began to subsidize travel to the United States through the "Perpetual Emigrating Fund." But the beneficiaries of this fund were required to pay back the cost of passage.

Cannon's two rather unsatisfactory articles were responsible for one
It was in the religious domain that the English utopians and Mormon missionaries found themselves in closest competition, for the English makers of new moral worlds appealed to the same type of dissenting sects as did the Mormons: the Methodist Connexion, the Primitive Methodists, the Particular 1 Baptists, and the like. Before July, 1840, Mormon elder Wilford Woodruff had baptized almost two hundred Primitive Methodists in Herefordshire. At the time of Woodruff's arrival these had just seceded from that sect to establish a similar group called the United Brethren. Woodruff also baptized forty United Brethren preachers and some New Connexion Methodists as well. About the same time, elder Parley P. Pratt complained of the violent resistance, of some preachers among the Primitive Methodists and New Connexion Methodists —and considering the disastrous inroads of the Mormons the resistance was quite understandable. These and other early Mormon missionaries made their headquarters in the seething religious and cooperative triangle formed by Preston, Liverpool, and Manchester.

Joseph Smith himself believed that he held many doctrines in common with the Irvingites and other sects in this English milieu. The Irvingites, therefore, like the Primitive Methodists and similar groups, came to know the fervor of Mormon missionaries in Upper Canada and elsewhere. In 1836 the Irvingites were apparently considering an amalgamation with the Mormons, and delegated one of their leaders to travel all the way from England to Kirtland, of the erroneous conclusions of Professor Sidney Mead concerning "eastern" influences on Mormonism. See above, p. 141, n. 1.


4*Millennial Star*, I, 24, 25 (May and June, 1840), 71-72 (Jul., 1840).

Ohio, to initiate conversations. This was at least the second attempt of
the Irvingites to ally themselves with an American utopian community, for ten
years before they had tried to win over the secular, Owenite community of New
Harmony. Nothing came of either attempt.

In view of this considerable cooperative and communitarian background
of the English converts, it is not surprising that they became leaders in the
cooperatives of Nauvoo.

It is apparent that the English converts to Mormonism were receptive
to the new American doctrine because they already shared many of the religious
and economic attitudes of the Mormons. It is not surprising that they became
leaders—as I have pointed out in the main text—in the cooperative activities
of Nauvoo. They may even have suggested the semi-independent joint-stock form
of the Nauvoo cooperatives. The Englishmen who helped Joseph set up these
cooperatives were obviously those who had been converted in the vocational and
religious environments described above. One of the most fertile sources of
converts in England, for example, were the Potteries; and one of the first
cooperative establishments in Nauvoo was a china factory.

In fact, the English converts had even begun to give concrete expres-
sion to their cooperative inclinations back in their homeland. At one point
in their migration to America they resorted to an interesting cooperative ven-
ture in transportation. In order to get themselves transported to Zion as
cheaply as possible, they organized the "Mutual Benefit Association" in Man-
chester in 1845. Encouraged by their American elders and by mission presi-
dents Reuben Redcock and Thomas Ward, they discussed this plan in the

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1Painesville Telegraph, Feb. 26, 1836, Mar. 1, 1836; History of the
Church, II, 230 ff.

2Times and Seasons, II, 434 (Jun. 1, 1841).

3Millennial Star, V, 166-178 (Apr., 1845).
Manchester Hall of Science, which for some time had been officially registered as a "place of worship" for some Owenite communitarians who called themselves "Rational Religionists."  

The Mutual Benefit Association was closely connected with cooperatives already operating in Nauvoo. For among the purposes set forth in the forty-five-article constitution were the financing of manufacturing in Nauvoo (Article 2) and the cooperative importation of food from America at very low prices (Article 3). The general purpose of the Association was the building up of "Zion"—which at the moment was still Nauvoo. The Association was in short a kind of Anglo-American Mormon manufacturer's and consumer's cooperative, so many of which had been founded in all the English Mormon areas except Wales.

The whole spirit of the Mutual Benefit Association was communal and anti-capitalistic. The Mormons were in fact shocked when they discovered that English law defined their venture as simply a joint stock company. Its greatest purpose was to gather the English Saints to Zion. The self-sacrificing spirit of cooperation in the Association would also help combat the spirit of speculation that had arisen among the more avaricious Saints in Nauvoo. The Association, said Elder Reuben Hedlock, would help prevent "the spirit of monopoly" and preserve the "combined industry of the Saints for the good of all... on both sides of the water."

In other words, the English Association would help revive the spirit

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2Technically Nauvoo was a "Stake of Zion," a term which came into use as Joseph's communitarian empire began to take shape in the Mississippi Valley. In its strict sense "Zion" refers to Jackson county, Missouri, whose rich soils were, and are to this day, considered sacred.

3Millennial Star, VII, 149 (May 15, 1846); also see pp. 87, 103, 174, and 175 in the same volume.

4Millennial Star, V, 171 (Apr., 1845).
of cooperation among the American Saints. In Nauvoo, as in earlier Mormon settlements, a few Saints had been infected by the expectant capitalism so common among the "boomers" of the American West. Land speculators since George Washington had tried to earn the "unearned increment" by buying outlying land and then waiting for the inevitable settlers to come and increase its market value. Because of their numbers, their Zionism, their communal mode of settlement, and their industry, the Mormons could raise surrounding land values faster than any other group in the history of the American frontier. And even within the Mormon community, as Hedlock pointed out, there were some who sought the profits.

In general, we may conclude of the English converts that they were not found in totally depressed areas; that they belonged to the thriftier, better-off class of urban workers and farmers; that they supported utopian and religious groups that were very receptive to Mormon doctrine; and that their strong inclination to cooperation made itself felt in Nauvoo. While cooperatives in the strict modern sense of the word began with the first Rochdale store in 1844—a purely secular venture—yet, English cooperation developed out of Owenite communitarianism, which, in turn, was associated with specific Fundamentalist, lower middle class sects. The strength of the English cooperative movement in Mormon missionary areas, the social and economic status of the converts, and the English Mormon cooperative projects on both sides of the water were all factors which strengthened Mormon cooperation: a way of life well established among the Mormons before the contributions of the English converts.

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The first Mormon mission to Scandinavia did not begin until 1850. The scores of Scandinavians who had embraced Mormonism before 1850 were almost all converted from among the earliest Norwegian settlements on the midwestern frontier: Sugar Creek, Iowa; Koshkonong, Wisconsin; and above all, the Fox
River Settlement, in LaSalle county, Illinois.

From their capital city of Nauvoo the Mormon missionaries could easily reach all three of these settlements, and in March, 1842 they inaugurated a proselytizing campaign by visiting the important mother settlement of Fox River. Within a year nearly sixty Norwegian immigrants out of perhaps three or four hundred in Iowa and Illinois had accepted Mormon baptism. By the death of Joseph Smith in 1844 there were about six hundred Norwegians in the Fox River Settlement, and of these about one hundred and fifty were Mormons.

These Norwegian converts were the vanguard of the many thousands of Norwegians and other Scandinavians who were soon to join the new American church. They exerted an influence far out of proportion to their small numbers. To grasp their remarkable affinity for Mormonism, one must understand their unusual religious beliefs: Haugeanism, the Norwegian version of eighteenth-century Lutheran pietism; and Norwegian Quakerism, a special strain of that faith introduced into Norway about 1813.

Religion was extremely important in the genesis of the great Norwegian migration to the United States. In October, 1825 a party of fifty-three persons debarked in New York City from the tiny sloop Restauration—"The Norwegian Mayflower." These "Sloopers," as they are known in history, were Haugans and Quakers who had found conditions for the practice of their faith very unfavorable in their homeland. Although only one of them—Lars Larsen, their leader—was openly and definitely a Quaker, the group as a whole had many Quaker connections.

The Sloopers had been persuaded to come to this country by one Cleng Peerson (1783-1865), the almost legendary father of Norwegian immigration, who had already prepared the way for the purchase of land in Murray (now Kendall) 1

1Except where otherwise noted the following account of early Norwegian immigration is based on Theodore C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America (2 vols.; Northfield, Minn., 1931-40), I, 41-61.
towship, Orleans county, New York, about thirty-five miles northwest of Rochester. About half of the Sloopers followed Peerson there to begin wrest-
ing farms from the wilderness. By 1831, the year in which it broke up and moved on westward to Illinois, the "Kendall Colony" contained at least fourteen families. Though it probably never numbered more than one hundred persons, the Kendall Colony became the first gathering place for the thousands of immigrants who soon followed them to America. Lars Larsen refused to go west but remained in Rochester, where he became the adviser to thousands of Norwegians who eventually passed through that city on their way to Illinois and other parts of the upper midwest.

Upon the arrival of the Sloopers in 1825, Cleng Peerson immediately tried to organize them as a single utopian community and to do so asked the financial aid of the Rappites—a fact that has been hitherto unknown. He failed. And the dissatisfaction of the Norwegians together with Peerson's subsequent praise of the soil of Illinois led to the migration of most of these Kendall settlers to the Fox River valley of that state. By 1835 the Fox River Settlement had become the salient of the great Norwegian (and Scandi-
navian) settlement of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. The ease with which the Sloopers accepted Peerson's communitarian scheme and the enthusiasm with which they later embraced Mormonism is to be explained by their Haugean and Quaker religious sympathies.

Haugean Lutheranism was the religious counterpart of the widespread political, social, and economic discontent that had arisen in Norway after 1815. It appealed particularly to the bondestand, a powerful class of yeoman freeholders. As the Methodists and Evangelicals in England maintained a

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1 I have dealt with his feeler to the Rappites in "Still More Light on the Kendall Colony: A Unique Slooper Letter," 24-30.

2 T. C. Eilegen, Norwegian Migration, I, 6, 160-165, 171.
working alliance with the Benthamite Liberals, so also did the Haugeans (and the Norwegian Quakers) ally themselves with the bonder.

The founder and leader of the Haugean movement was Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824), who is sometimes called the "Spener of the North." Toward the end of the eighteenth century Hauge took up the fight against what he considered the two greatest evils of his homeland: economic injustice—from which the bonder especially suffered—and the religious apathy stemming from the rationalism of the established Lutheran Church of Norway. In the course of this fight he established, on a cooperative, religious basis, a stamping mill, a bone mill, a flour mill, a tannery, and a foundry—all of which were operated by his adherents. At least one of his enterprises was run as a utopian community.

This communitarian and cooperative element in Haugeanism doubtless made both Cleng Peerson's utopian scheme and Joseph Smith's cooperative community seem both natural and appealing to the early Norwegian immigrants. Peerson himself, though not a formal member of any church, was a communitarian by conviction and later joined Bishop Hill, the communistic society of "the great Erik Janson Prophet of Sweden" located in Henry county, Illinois. When Bishop Hill broke up in the late 1840's, many of its members joined the Shakers. Peerson himself became a Freethinker.

While it is doubtful that these early Norwegians practiced any kind of

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1 For the Haugean background see John M. Rohne, Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872 (New York, 1930), chapter 1. Rohne cites the religio-economic projects from A. C. Bang, Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans Samtid (Christiania, 1875), 135. A forthcoming work which could not be consulted for this dissertation is E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Pevold, The Lutheran Church Among the Norwegian-Americans: A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Minneapolis, Minn., 1960).

social or economic cooperation beyond the abortive experiment of Peerson, they
did tend to settle in compact groups. The two mother settlements of early
Norwegian immigration were Muskego, Racine county, Wisconsin, and the Fox
River Settlement of Illinois. Muskego, like Fox River, seems to have been a
Haagean colony. Its leader, Even Heg, purchased a large tract of land, resell-
ing to the immigrants as they came—in the Mormon manner. The exact mode of
settlement at Fox River is uncertain but seems to have been made by groups
of individual farm families.

The Haageans in the Fox River Settlement soon felt the energy of Mor-
mon missionaries, who converted many ordinary Haageans and even some of their
lay leaders. The most important convert was Canute Peterson (Knud Pederson),
an immigrant of 1837 and a "bishop" of the Haagean church. Peterson was a
close friend of four of the seven leading members of Peerson's abortive Kendall
community and the son-in-law of one of the seven. Another leading convert was
Gudmund Haugaas (Danielsen), a Sloop, a member of the Kendall utopia, and an
intimate friend of Peterson. Another was Endre Dahl (Andrew Knudson Dahl),
another Sloop and a friend of Peerson. Of the five leading Sloopers who
accompanied Cleng Peerson to Illinois to look for a new place of settlement
three and possibly four became Mormons. For a short time in later years two
of the early Norwegian immigrants, Endre Dahl and Ole Heier, the latter being
a Haagean preacher, became members of a heretical (Strangite) Mormon utopian

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1 T. C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration, I, 125-26; Carlton C. Qualey, "The
Fox River Norwegian Settlement," Journal of the Illinois State Historica
Society, XXVII (July, 1944), 124.

2 Carlton C. Qualey, Norwegian Settlement in the United States (North-
field, Minnesota, 1938), 49.

3 Ibid.; see also T. C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration, I, 63, and Carlton
C. Qualey, "The Fox River Norwegian Settlement."

community. All of these men were Haugeans.

By about 1844 at least one hundred and fifty of the six hundred Norwegians then in the Fox River Settlement had become Mormons and many of these converts acquired high offices in the new church. These leaders soon became the core of an astonishingly successful Mormon mission to Scandinavia.

Peerson's Kendall colony and the Haugean experiments were not the only communitarian strains in early Norwegian immigration. A third element, Norwegian Quakerism, was also quite communitarian in spirit. Many of those who arrived between 1825 and 1844 were Norwegian Quakers who went to America to escape official persecution for practicing their newly acquired faith. Lars Larsen, the acknowledged leader of the "sloop folk" and after Peerson one of the most important figures in the history of Norwegian immigration, was one of the founders of Norwegian Quakerism.

Larsen's mentor in his new faith was William Allen (1770-1843), a noted English reformer who has been termed one of the most versatile Quakers of his generation. A pronounced communitarian, Allen had been one of Robert Owen's six partners in the purchase of the New Lanark Mills in 1814 and through his third wife, Orizell Birkbeck, was related to Morris Birkbeck, another English communitarian, who had founded the Owenite community of Albion, Edwards county, Illinois, in 1818.

Between 1822 and 1824 Allen began organizing a community of his own at the depressed village of Lindfield, in Sussex, England. By the 1830's the success of his little agricultural community had inspired similar experiments at West Ham, Essex (led by Samuel Gurney, another friend of the Norwegian Quakers); Ballinderry, near Lisburn, in Ireland; and Lastadie, near Stettin, in Germany. Allen felt that "home colonies" in England were superior to Owen's

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secular communities and preferable to emigration as a solution to the social ills of the time. Compared with other places in England the living conditions in Allen’s community of Lindfield became so desirable that it was nicknamed "America."

Allen knew Hauge and other important religious dissenters in Europe. Before he died he had visited several communitarian experiments on the continent, including the Amana community of True Inspirationists (or "Ebenesers"), which was to move in 1843 to what is now Buffalo, New York. That same year Allen died, and his communitarian work was immediately taken up by the non-religious Chartist leader, Feargus O’Connor.

Estimates of the number of Norwegian Quakers among the fifty-three Sloopers range from two to three to seventeen. The rest were Haugeans—to whom they were so similar that the two groups were sometimes confused with one another. Both Haugeanism and Quakerism had a profound effect on early Norwegian immigration. And it is clear that in William Allen Norwegian Quakerism had a very powerful link with the communitarian tradition of England and America.

One final link between the Norwegian immigrant and the communitarianism of the age should be mentioned even though its influence on Mormon converts was at best indirect. This was Norwegian Moravianism.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century Count Zinzendorf’s Moravian mission to Norway had produced several Moravian societies in Christiania, Bergen, and Drammen. Hauge himself had heard the Moravians preaching, and though


3 T. C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration, I, 45. 4 Ibid., I, 44–45.
very few Norwegian Moravians emigrated to America before 1844, the one purely Norwegian religious community founded in the United States was Ephraim (now Green Bay), Wisconsin. Founded like the secular Norwegian community of Oleana (Potter county, Pa.) in the early fifties, Ephraim had no connection with Mormonism, but it should be mentioned as evidence for the strength of the communitarian spirit in early Norwegian immigration.

We may conclude from the powerful communitarian background of early Norwegian immigration that the Haugean and Quaker converts to Mormonism were attracted to that religion by the communitarian affinities it had with Haugeanism and Norwegian Quakerism. If the cooperative movement was born in Britain, its greatest modern exponents (now quite secular) were the Scandinavians.

Before the exodus to Utah the Norwegian converts lived in their own ethnic "city of Zion," namely, Norway, Illinois, in the Fox River valley. There they planned to build a storehouse, a tabernacle, and the other buildings prescribed for a standard, Mormon utopian city. In 1846, as the migration to Utah was about to begin, Norway was almost destroyed by a switch in loyalties from Brigham Young to the most communitarian and prominent of the anti-prophets who claimed the mantle of Joseph Smith: James Jesse Strang. Those who did not become Strangites or who abandoned Strang eventually gave their loyalty to Joseph Smith, Jr., the Prophet's son, who later founded the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints with headquarters at Independence, Missouri.

As a result of this dissension only about twenty of the inhabitants of Norway went to Utah. But the few who did were men like Erik Hogan, Canute Peterson, and Endre Dahl, who would become "the seed corn for the meat growth to come"—a growth that outstripped in number the converts from England.

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Cooperation as a way of life became so strong among the Scandinavian converts in Utah that their historian has asserted that a typical Scandinavian community could be understood in no other terms. Typically, one of the original Norwegian converts, Goudy Hogan of Sugar Creek, was a leading member of the most important United Order community in Utah, the one at Orderville.

Since the early Norwegian converts never lived in Nauvoo, they could not have influenced the cooperatives of that large city. But once in Utah, they could only have reinforced in the 1840's the trend in Mormonism away from the communist economics of the United Order toward the later system of cooperation that flowered in Far West, Nauvoo, and Utah.

It has been asserted that this inclination of the Scandinavians in Utah for the cooperative way was born of "necessity and brotherhood." Rather it was, as we have seen in the main text, a survival of the habits of the United Order—a survival that was strengthened by the predisposition of the first Norwegian converts to cooperation. These men not only inaugurated the great migration of the other Scandinavians to Utah in the second half of the nineteenth century; but, through their intellectual leadership and their communitarian habits they also made easier and natural the accommodation to Mormonism of the Danes, the Swedes, and the later Norwegians who followed them to Utah.

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1Ibid., 21b.


3William Mulder, Homeward to Zion, 221-222.

4Ibid., 106.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

A. Introduction

The most restrained statement one can make about Mormon sources is that they are enormous in extent and difficult to work with.

They are enormous in extent, because the claim of the church to be the only "witness for Christ" in these latter days has made every official or quasi-official pronouncement of the church a matter of careful record. Joseph Smith even advised his elders to keep careful journals, for they would "be sought after as history and scripture." The New Testament, he thought, was defective because it was written from memory. One of the first offices he created for his church was that of Church Historian.

A related stimulus to produce documents was the Mormon claim to be a historical religion. In emphasizing the importance of the past for the whole rationale of their faith the Mormons have studied, recounted, and remembered their history with greater diligence than any other comparable group in the history of American Christianity.

The sources are difficult to work with because they can so rarely be taken at face value. The critical scholar must be as careful with Mormon sources as with anti-Mormon sources, both published and unpublished. The church has printed many contemporary documents in bowdlerized or incomplete form, sometimes purposely, sometimes naively. The anti-Mormon sources are in a class by themselves, and one highly competent recent historian, Norman F. Furniss, has concluded that "anti-Mormon literature is as vast and empty as interstellar space." Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1852 (New Haven, 1960), 218. But even Mr. Furniss, like every other honest historian, was forced to use anti-Mormon sources—with care and caution.

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B. Bibliographies

Mormonism is well supplied with bibliographies. Among the more useful are:

An auction catalogue in two parts: Part One, 1917; Part Two, 1918.

Kirkpatrick, L. H. (comp.). Holdings of the University of Utah on Utah and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Mimeographed. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1951.
The emphasis is on Utah.

In progress. So far three articles have appeared in the Western Humanities Review: one on the Church of Jesus Christ (Bickertonite), ibid., Winter, 1949-50; a second on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Strangite), ibid., Winter, 1950-51; and a general article entitled "A Bibliography of the Churches of the Dispersion," ibid., Summer, 1953.
These bibliographies are part of a larger definitive bibliography on Mormonism, much of it now on call in the Utah Historical Society, which Mr. Morgan hopes eventually to publish.

Based on the William Berrian collection. The first comprehensive annotated bibliography of Mormonism. Still very useful.

Gives locations and runs available at each library. Includes microfilms.

An auction catalogue of Scollawagiana.

A recent master's thesis compiled at Utah State University at Logan, Utah, lists hundreds of these and dissertations written in the United States, almost all by pious Mormons, but I have not found these unpublished works very helpful. For the Campbellites (or Disciples of Christ), the Shakers, and American socialism, I found the following guides useful:


De Groot, Alfred Thomas. Literature of the Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland; a Design for a Catalogue. Fort Worth, Texas, 1850.


McLean. Shaker Books. [Franklin, Ohio, 1907].

The McLean bibliographies are now superseded by the definitive bibliography, now in manuscript, compiled by Dr. Edward Deming Andrews.


C. The Writings of Joseph Smith

Any study of early Mormonism must begin with all the writings of Joseph Smith: the Book of Mormon, the various revelations, the pamphlets, the manuscript letters, and above all the seven-volume History of the Church. Of his writings having the status of divine revelation, nine-tenths were composed before 1838. These official Mormon scriptures are the following:

The Book of Mormon. Palmyra, N. Y.: Eber D. Grandin, 1830. This original edition, now rare, was divided into chapters like a novel. Church editors divided later editions into verses. They also corrected many grammatical errors in the King James English of the text. I have used this edition throughout.

Perhaps three copies of this very rare work have survived. The Salt Lake Tribune, a non-Mormon newspaper, reprinted it in 1884.

Intended as the first collection of Joseph Smith's revelations, only a few signatures were printed when the first mob of Missourians destroyed the Mormon press. The textual differences between it and later collections of revelations have been central to my story. See above, Appendix I, for details.

Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God, and Compiled by Joseph Smith, Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams. Kirtland, 1835.

Familiarly known as the Doctrine and Covenants, this was the first successor to the Book of Commandments. This edition, the first complete one up to its time, is the basis for the later editions. Many important passages that had been printed in the Book of Commandments (1833) were drastically revised in this edition. These revised revelations, together with those subsequently issued by the Prophet, form the complete modern canon of revelations as published by the Utah church in 1921. I have cited the 1921 edition throughout—except for those places where the Book of Commandments was relevant. The Reorganized Church (Independence, Missouri) uses a slightly different selection of revelations.


Contains the "Prophecy of Enoch" (which I have dealt with in my text) and other sacred restored texts.


I have cited the latest edition, currently being published in seven volumes.

This is essentially a long documentary history organized around the journal-like entries of the Prophet. The editing, like that of most church publications, does not follow the rules of critical scholarship, and I have found it very fruitful to consult original texts wherever possible.

This work, for all its shortcomings, is the very backbone of any study of early Mormonism.


This is the King James Bible with some insertions and revisions made by the Prophet Joseph to accommodate it to the theological framework of Mormonism.
The non-scriptural publications of Joseph Smith were pamphlets written toward the end of his life. The following are the most convenient editions:

General Joseph Smith's Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys, December 1843. Nauvoo, Illinois: Nauvoo

Correspondence between Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and Col. John Wentworth . . . Gen. James Arlington Bennett . . . and the Hon. John C. Calhoun . . . In which is given a Sketch of the Life of Joseph Smith, the Rise and Progress of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints, and their Persecutions by the State of Missouri . . . to which is added a Concise Account of . . . the City of Nauvoo. New York: John E. Page and L. R. Foster, 1844.

The Voice of Truth, Containing Joseph Smith's Correspondence with Gen. James Arlington Bennett; Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys; Correspondence with John C. Calhoun, Esq.; Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States; Pacific Imus, and Gov. Ford's Letters; A Friendly Hint to Missouri, and a Few Words of Consolation for the "Globe"; also, Correspondence with the Hon. Henry Clay. Nauvoo, Illinois: Printed by John Taylor, 1844.

A collection of Smith's pamphlets, most of which also appeared separately.

D. Books, Pamphlets, and Other Printed Sources

Many of the printed sources for early Mormon history are extremely rare. I was able to consult almost all the important contemporary books and pamphlets in the Coe Collection of Western Americana, Yale University. Several titles, not at Yale, especially those published in the latter part of the nineteenth century, were available in the sadly deteriorating William Berrian collection on Mormonism in the New York Public Library. The best basic list of materials on early Mormon history may be found in Mrs. Fawn M. Brodie's pioneering work, No Man Knows My History; the Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet (New York, 1945). The following select list also includes Shaker and Campbellite items.

Among the works I found particularly useful were:

Adams, George J. A Lecture on the Doctrine of Baptism for the Dead; and Preaching to Spirits in Prison . . . As Originally Delivered in the City of New York . . . Reported and Published by David Rogers. New York, 1841.

Austin, Emily W. Mormonism; or, Life Among the Mormons, Being an Autobiographical Sketch, Including an Experience of Fourteen Years of Mormon Life. Madison, Wis., 1882.


Burnett, Peter H. Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer. New York, 1860.

Coke, Lu B. Old Mormon Manuscript Found; Peepstone Joe Exposed. New York, 1892.

Campbell, Alexander. Delusions. An Analysis of the Book of Mormon; with an Examination of Its Internal and External Evidences, and a Refutation of Its Pretences to Divine Authority. Boston, 1832. Campbell first published this in his periodical, the Millennial Harbinger, Volume II (Feb., 1831).


The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century; or, the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Mormons, or Latter-day Saints: to Which Is Appended, an Analysis of the Book of Mormon. London, 1843.


Chapman, Frederick W. The Pratt Family. Hartford, 1864.


I consulted the reports for the years 1849-51.


In the Berrian Collection, New York Public Library.

Correspondence, Orders, etc., in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons and the Evidence Given before the Hon. Austin A. King, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit Court of the State of Missouri, at the Court-house in Richmond, in a Criminal Court of Inquiry, Begun November 12, 1839, on the Trial of Joseph Smith, Jr., and Others, for High Treason and Other Crimes against the State. Published by order of the General Assembly, Fayette, Missouri, 1841.

Part of the testimony in this very rare document is found in Senate Document No. 189, 26th Congress, 2d Session, 1841.

Corrill, John. A Brief History of the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Commonly Called Mormons); Including an Account of Their Doctrine and Discipline; with the Reasons of the Author for Leaving the Church. St. Louis, 1839.

"Apparently there are no copies of the original extent. For reprints see Saints Herald, March 20, 1907, and Anti-Mormon Tract No. 2, Ashland Independent Publishing Co., 1909." — F. V. Brodie.


First published in the Messenger and Advocate in 1834-35.

Cowley, Matthias F. (ed.). *Wilford Woodruff, Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: History of His Life and Labors, as Recorded in His Daily Journals*. Salt Lake City, 1909.


The copy in the Western Reserve Historical Society formerly belonged to Crary's friend, Henry Holcomb, and has marginal annotations and three inset sheets of ms. notes.


See my explanatory note at the beginning of chapter ii, above. Although generally untrustworthy, this periodical has some useful information, whose reliability can be cross-checked. Information on Deming, a religious and political crackpot, can be found in the interesting manuscript collection on him in the Western Reserve Historical Society and the Chicago Historical Society.


Greene, John P. *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons from the State of Missouri*. Cincinnati, 1839.

Green, Calvin, and Wells, Seth Y. *A Summary View of the Millennial Church or United Society of Believers (Commonly Called Shakers)*. Albany, 1823.


Hayden, A. S. Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve. Cincinnati, 1876.


Howe, Eber D. Mormonism Unveiled or a Faithful Account of that Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time. Painesville, Ohio, 1834.


Hyde, Orson. Speech of Elder Orson Hyde Delivered before the High Priests Quorum in Nauvoo, April 27th, 1845, upon the Course and Conduct of Mr. Sidney Kardon. City of Joseph, Nauvoo, Ill., 1845.

Jenson, Andrew. Latter-Day Saints Biographic Encyclopedia. 4 vols. Salt Lake City, 1901.

Journal of Discourses, 1854-86.

Sermons by Brigham Young and other church leaders.

Journal of History. Lomoni, Iowa: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Jan., 1908-Dec., 1915.


Lee, John D. Mormonism Unveiled. St. Louis, Mo., and Lewistown, Pa., 1882. First edition was St. Louis, 1877.


A Review of the Most Important Events Relating to ... Believers in the West. Union Village, Ohio, 1831.


Merkley, Christopher. Biography of Christopher Merkley, Written by Himself. Salt Lake City, 1877.

Miller, George. Correspondence of Bishop George Miller with the Northern Islander. From His First Acquaintance with Mormonism up to Near the Close of His Life. Illinois (?), 1855. Generally cited as "Letters to the Northern Islander."


Pratt, Orson. An Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions and of the Late Discovery of Ancient American Records. Edinburgh, 1840.

— New Jerusalem; or, the Fulfillment of Modern Prophecy. Liverpool, 1842.

— Absurdities of Immaterialism; or, a Reply to T. W. P. Tayler's Pamphlet, Entitled, "The Materialism of the Mormons or Latter-Day Saints, Examined and Exposed." Liverpool, 1847.

Pratt, Parley Parker. The Angel of the Prairies; a Dream of the Future. Salt Lake City, 1850.


History of the Late Persecution Inflicted by the State of Missouri upon the Mormons ... Written During Eight Months Imprisonment in that State. Detroit, 1839.

Key to the Science of Theology: Designed As an Introduction to the First Principles of Spiritual Philosophy, Religion, Law and Government: As Delivered by the Ancients, and As Restored in This Age. Liverpool, 1835.

The Millennium and Other Poems: to Which Is Annexed, a Treatise on the Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter. New York, 1810.


What is Mormonism? Liverpool, 1837.


Scraps of Biography. No. 10 in the Faith-Promoting Series. Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883.


Robinson, Ebenezer. "Items of Personal History of the Editor," The Return (Davis City, Iowa), 1830-90.

Smith, Mrs. Eliza R. Snow. Biographical and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow. Salt Lake City, 1881.

Smith, Joseph, and Smith, Heman C. History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. 3 vols. Lamoni, Iowa, 1897-1908.


Smith, Lucy Mack. Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations. Liverpool, 1853. This edition suppressed by Brigham Young.

Stevenson, Edward. Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon. Salt Lake City, 1893.

Swartzell, William. Mormonism Exposed, Being a Journal of a Residence in Missouri from 28th of May to 20th of August, 1832. Pekin, Ohio, 1840.

The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing. Lebanon, Ohio, 1808.

United States Circuit Court (6th Circuit). ... The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, complainant, vs. the Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri. ... Complainant's abstract of pleading and evidence. Lamoni, Iowa, 1893.

Commonly referred to as the Temple Lot Case.


... *An Address to Believers in the Book of Mormon. By a Witness to the Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon.* Richmond, Missouri, 1837.


Wight, Lyman. *An Address by Way of an Abridged Account of My Life from February 1844 up to April 1848.* n. p., n. d.

Wyl, Wilhelm. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth about the Mormon Leaders ... Joseph Smith, the Prophet, His Family, and His Friends.* Salt Lake City, 1888.


Young, Joseph. *History of the Organization of the Seventies ... Also, a Brief Glimpse at Enoch and His City.* Salt Lake City, 1875.

II. Mormon and Non-Mormon Newspapers and Periodicals

Mormon newspapers are as fundamental to any study of early Mormon history as the writings of Joseph Smith. I have consulted all extant numbers of the twelve Mormon newspapers and periodicals published between 1832 and 1846:

*Evening and Morning Star* (Independence, Missouri, and Kirtland, Ohio); *Latter-Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, Ohio); *Northern Times* (Kirtland, Ohio); *Elders' Journal* (Kirtland, Ohio, and Far West, Missouri); *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois); *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star* (Liverpool, England); *Gospel Reflector* (Philadelphia, Pa.); *The Wasp* (Nauvoo, Illinois); *The Prophet* (New York City); and the *Nauvoo Expositor.* The later issues of one of these, the *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star* (1840 to present), were often
valuable for the period before 1846. I also checked parts of the Deseret News (Salt Lake City); The Mormon (New York City); the Strangite Gospel Herald (Vereen, Wis.); the Reorganized Church's Saints Herald (Independence, Missouri); and all of The Seer (Washington, D.C.). I was able to consult most of these newspapers at Yale University. For the others I went to the Connecticut State Library, Hartford; New York Public Library; Library of the Chicago Historical Society; and the Office of the Church Historian in Salt Lake City. Two rare, short-run Kirtland newspapers that I tried to find in the Berrian Collection of the New York Public Library have been purloined. I found scattered numbers of the Nauvoo New Citizen, an anti-Mormon newspaper that harassed the Saints as they left for Utah, in Chicago, New York, and Salt Lake City.

Research on early Mormon history has been enormously facilitated in recent years by two special collections of articles on Mormonism. In the 1930's Mr. Cecil A. Snider made copies of articles on Mormonism that appeared in the newspapers of Illinois and Missouri between 1830 and 1847. About 1946 Dale L. Morgan copied articles on Mormonism form both eastern and western newspapers. Typescript copies of the Snider collection may be found in the New York Public Library and in the Harvard University Library. The Morgan collection is deposited in the Coe Collection of Western Americana, Yale University. Both the Snider and Morgan collections were especially useful for the period 1838-46, which I had to telescope into one chapter of this dissertation.

In spite of the Snider and Morgan clippings, I found the personal, first-hand investigation of the more important newspapers to be indispensable. I made some of my most valuable discoveries in advertisements and in articles not directly concerned with Mormonism. Moreover, I looked into the files of newspapers not covered by either collection and not usually consulted by historians of early Mormonism.

Among the more valuable of the non-Mormon newspapers consulted (for the
relevant years) were: *Chardon Spectator* and *Geauga Gazette* (Chardon, Ohio); *Camrose Times* (Cambridge, Ohio); *Hancock Eagle* (Hancock, Ill.); *Hudson Observer* (Hudson, Ohio); *Ohio Star* (Ravenna, Ohio); *Ohio Watchman* (Ravenna, Ohio); *Painesville Telegraph* (Painesville, Ohio); *People's Advocate* (Ravenna, Ohio); *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, New York); *Western Courier* (Ravenna, Ohio); *Western Intelligencer* (Hudson, Ohio); *Western Reserve Chronicle* (Warren, Ohio). Some of these have been microfilmed, but too often with the omission of certain extant, but fugitive, numbers. I consulted all but one newspaper first hand. I found the most complete runs of most of those just listed in the Western Reserve Historical Society and in the New York State Library (Albany). For titles and numbers not available at these two depositories I visited the Chicago Historical Society, the Worcester Antiquarian Society, the Church Historian's Office (Salt Lake City), and the Ohio State Historical Society (Columbus).

F. Manuscripts

The Mormons.—Mormon manuscript sources are massive. I found the most important collections of manuscripts in the following depositories: the Office of the Church Historian, Salt Lake City; the Utah Historical Society; the Coe Collection of Western Americana, Yale University; and the library of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri. In all of these places I read many valuable letters, diaries, and journals. In addition, I consulted Mormon manuscript diaries and journals at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; at the Library of Congress; and at the Utah Genealogical Society.

Special mention should be made of the *Journal History* and the "Far West Record," two important manuscripts in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City. The *Journal History* includes the printed version of Joseph Smith's *History of the Church* and a great heterogeneous mass of typescripts of parts of diaries, sermons, journals, letters, clippings, and similar materials all
illustrating the history of the church from 1830 to the present, and all chronologically arranged. It is, in short, a giant scrapbook of pre-digested source materials for the history of the church. The convenience of this valuable collection has tempted most historians to lean on it too heavily. Uncritical use of its edited and chopped-up documents has, I think, given to the historiography of Mormonism a kind of uniform, too-familiar tone. The "Far West Record," a far more modest but whole source document, is a manuscript copy of the minutes of many early conferences of the church.

I also used many of the diaries and reminiscences copied in the 1930’s by the Federal Writer’s Project of the Works Progress Administration and now deposited in the Utah Historical Society and elsewhere. Land records in the Geauga county courthouse (Chardon, Ohio), so intelligently exploited by Mrs. Brodie, were extremely valuable. The Mormon collection of the Chicago Historical Society contains some useful manuscript material.

Especially valuable manuscripts (including theses and unpublished records) for this dissertation were:


Cowdery, Oliver. Letters to Warren A. Cowdery.
In the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Deming, Arthur B. Manuscripts and clippings.
In the Chicago Historical Society.

"Far West Record."
Typescript and original in Church Historian’s Office, Salt Lake City.
Contains the minutes of meetings of the High Council in Far West, Missouri.
Indispensable.


Grant, J. M. Journal, 1835-38.

Hogan, Gudy. Diary.
Copy at Brigham Young University.
Huntington, Oliver Boardman. Journal. 3 vols.

Jepson, James. Memories and Experiences.

Journal History.
See introductory remarks to this section.

"J. E. Stephenson's Statement."
A clipping in the Duming ms., Chicago Historical Society.

Kartchner, William D. "Expedition of the Perrett company."


Lightner, Mary Elizabeth Rollins. "Autobiography."


Miller, George. Nauvoo House Association stock certificate filled out for one share, $50.00 value, made out to John Snider, and signed by President (Bishop) Miller. Woodcut printed at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1840 or 1841 by E. Robinson.

In the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City. The Church Historian has hundreds more of these certificates that were never filled out. Shares for $50.00 and $100.00 were printed on a single sheet, which was then cut, if necessary.

Monroe, James W. "Diary, Sept. 1841 to June, 1842; a record of attendance of his pupils in Nauvoo, 1842-1844; his journal kept while tutoring the children of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, 1845. Copied by W. M. Egan.


Partridge, Edward. Papers.
Correspondence and other documents. Contains some lease-and-loan forms.


Peck, Reed. "Mormons So Called."

"This manuscript, dated Quincy, Adams County, Illinois, September 15, 1839, is in my possession. It was purchased from Peck's granddaughters, Mabel Peck Myer and Hazel Peck Cass, in 1942. It had been published in L. B. Cake: Old Mormon Manuscript Found! Pedestone Joe Exposed, New York, 1899."

Mrs. Brodie has since given the manuscript to the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. I am very grateful to her for providing me with information on its authenticity. I have used the published version.

Pickel, Leonard. Papers, 1841-44.

"Proceedings before Judge Thomas C. Burch in the house of Elisha B. Creekmore, Davies County, Missouri, April 8, 1839."

In the library of the Reorganized Church, Independence, Missouri.

"Record of the First Quorum of Elders Belonging to the Church of Christ in Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio."
In the Library of the Reorganized Church, Independence, Missouri.

Records of lawsuits brought against Joseph Smith for the collection of debts incurred in Kirtland, Ohio.
In the County Courthouse, Chardon, Ohio. Volumes for 1837-38.


Shurtleff was a Campbellite follower of Sidney Rigdon.


Diary.
In the Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City.

Privately owned. I have a microfilm copy. I rediscovered this important, but long forgotten document in a Masonic Library in Iowa and am preparing it for publication.

"Scrapbook of newspaper clippings relating to the Mormons."
In the New York Public Library.

Autobiographical journals. A version of the text that is neither complete nor accurate may be found in Joseph Grant Stevenson, "The Life of Edward Stevenson," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Dept. of Church History, Brigham Young University, 1955).

Stout, Allen J. Journal.


Strang, James Jesse. Papers.


Tanner, Carrie Peterson. "A Story of the Life of Canute Petersen as Given by Himself and Some Members of His Family."


Whitmer, John. "History of the Church."

Mrs. Brodie says of this indispensable work: "The manuscript of this history is in the library of the Reorganized Church. When it was published in the Journal of History, Vol. I, the significant last portion—part of Chapter xix and all of Chapters xx and xxi—written after Whitmer
had left the church, was omitted." See No Man Knows My History, 97, note. For Mrs. Brodie the significant parts were those on spiritual wives, the Danties, and Joseph Smith's desire for worldly success. It also contains important material on the beginnings of the United Order of Enoch. It was probably written between 1831 and 1836.


In the New York Public Library. This is also found listed under the title "First Half Century of Mormonism," (N.Y., 1880). See the Bulletin of the New York Library, XIX (1915), 134. I believe this Woodward is the same person as Woodward the "Book Pedlar," whose ms. letters are bound in a pamphlet in the Coe Collection of Western Americana, Yale University; John P. Greene, Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons from the State of Missouri (Cincinnati, 1839).

The Shakers, Rappites, Campbellites, and Foreign Converts.—The Shakers wrote comparatively few books, and I have relied almost entirely on the rich manuscript sources in the following depositories: the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio; the Shaker Heights Public Library, Shaker Heights, Ohio; the Worcester Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; the Williams College Library, Williamstown, Massachusetts; the Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky; the Ohio State Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio; the Berkshire Athenaeum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts; the Dayton Public Library, Dayton, Ohio; the Western Kentucky State Teachers College, Bowling Green, Kentucky; the Fruitland Museum, Harvard, Massachusetts; and the New York State Library, Albany, New York.

The materials used consisted almost entirely of letters, diaries, historical memoirs, covenants, and membership lists. These manuscripts were written in, or about, every one of the nineteen Shaker communities founded in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana between 1787 and 1826. The collections vary widely in quality and relevance, and are too large to be discussed in detail here.

The largest and by far the most important collection is that of the Western Reserve Historical Society, which has about three thousand volumes of
manuscripts, including about one thousand letters and twenty thousand very useful membership cards. These manuscripts relate to all the communities founded by the Shakers before the middle of the nineteenth century. The membership cards contain the vital statistics of thousands of Shakers in all communities, and were very valuable in tracing Mormons who were formerly Shakers.

More important than all the public collections mentioned above except that of the Western Reserve Historical Society is the private collection of Dr. Edward Deming Andrews, the noted historian of Shakerism. Dr. Andrews, whose help has been invaluable throughout my research, has been most generous in allowing me to examine his manuscripts. Among the letters, diaries, and covenants in his possession are several unique and important items from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Since World War II Shaker manuscripts have been much in demand on the manuscript market. This may account for losses (by theft) in certain public collections. But it has also resulted in some new discoveries. Several of the manuscripts uncovered between 1950 and 1960 have been purchased by the Shaker Museum of Old Chatham, New York. I am indebted to Mr. Donald Howe, a prominent and historically minded antique dealer of Ware, Massachusetts, for permission to read manuscripts acquired by him and subsequently sold. The yearly expected dissolution of the last Shaker community at East Canterbury, New Hampshire, may soon release important Shaker documents never before available.

As with the Shakers, so also with the Rappites I have relied almost solely on manuscript sources. The Rappite archives are now preserved at the Old Economy State Historical Site (Ambridge, Pa.), which is being restored in exemplary fashion by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. For the early period of Rappite history (1805-1847) most of the half million manuscripts there available are in German. I consulted only the manuscripts for the relevant years (1825-37) of my study. Most of these were business letters, but I
discovered some extremely revealing correspondence with the Shakers of Kentucky and with the first Norwegian immigrants to America. I have published a key letter from the Norwegians in the Studies and Records of the Norwegian-American Historical Society, IX (1959).

The Rappite archives suffered a grievous loss after World War II, when the invaluable letter-books of "Water" George Rapp were stolen.

In the Utah Genealogical Society I found copies of five important letters of John Zundel, a Rappite convert to Mormonism. These letters had been used (but never cited or described) by Professor Karl J. Arndt to suggest, unjustifiably, as I have shown in Appendix III, above, that the Rappites influenced the shape of Mormon communitarianism.

For the Campbellites I have relied mainly on printed sources, both Mormon and Campbellite, which are listed in section "D" of this bibliographical essay. The only important manuscript relating to this dissertation was the original copy of the minutes of the Mahoning Association (of which Sidney Rigdon was a member). This manuscript is owned by Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. The most important printed source I used was the first organ of the Campbellite church, the Millennial Harpinger. It is misleading to speak of Campbellite sources, manuscript or printed, before 1826. Before this date Campbellism was not much more than a small clique of a small sect in a small area near Pittsburgh. The sectarian background of Campbellism before 1826 has not been studied critically; but the local church records which I consulted in the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society in Pittsburgh are helpful for determining the religious environment out of which it arose.

Mormon sources, printed and manuscript, were generally adequate for the treatment of foreign converts. I have listed a few titles in sections "D" and "F" of this bibliographical essay. For the Norwegian converts, however, the many non-Mormon publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association
were indispensable, containing as they do many source materials as well as articles and monographic studies. These materials have been published in three series that are models of their kind: the Studies and Records, 20 volumes (1926-present); the series of 'Special Publications;' (published irregularly, 1928-present); and the 'Travel and Description Series,' 5 volumes (1926-present).

G. Secondary Materials

Most secondary works on Mormonism, both by Mormons and by non-Mormons, are worthless; and most of these deal with the Utah period of Mormon history (1847-present). Since the appearance in 1945 of Mrs. Brodie's pioneering biography of the Prophet, *No Man Knows My History* (still the standard account of early Mormonism), there has been a renascence of Mormon historiography.

But only one of the several recent worthwhile books has been of value to me: Leonard J. Arrington's definitive economic history of Mormonism: *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). Written from the point of view of an economist, this work actually covers only the period from 1846 to 1900. It begins with a brief summary of early Mormon communitarianism before 1846. Together with the many articles which preceded it, it covers almost every remnant of early Mormon communitarianism in Utah. But being essentially an economic history of Mormonism in the Rocky Mountains—that is, of Utah and its periphery—it does not cover the survivals of Mormon communitarianism among such Mormon heretics as James J. Strang in Wisconsin and Sidney Rigdon in Pennsylvania.

William McDermand's *Homeward to Zion; the Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis, 1957) is another recent work of high quality. It deals with the whole of Scandinavian immigration and is not directly concerned with the Norwegians except as "forerunners." The work also emphasizes the travai
and acculturation of the immigrant rather than the transfer of ideas. Other
recent works of high quality like those of William Mulder and A. Russell
Mortensen (an anthology of historic accounts by contemporaries), of Norman
Furniss (on the Mormon conflict of 1850-57), and of Thomas O'Dea (on the
sociology of modern Mormonism) were not directly relevant to early Mormonism
or to early Mormon communitarianism. Indeed, early Mormonism remains a
neglected area of study.

Of the more than nine hundred unpublished theses and dissertations on
Mormonism there are scores that do deal with early Mormonism. These academic
studies are listed, as I mentioned in section "B" of this bibliographical
essay, in still another thesis: "Theses and Dissertations . . . on Mormon
History," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Utah State University, Logan, Utah, 1955). Very few of these academic exercises were useful to me. A few, like that of
R. Kent Fielding, "The Mormons at Kirtland" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation,
Dept. of History, University of Indiana, 1957), were relevant to my work, but
I still found that I had to start from scratch. One older and still very use-
ful thesis was Daryl Chase, "Sider—Region—Early Mormon" (Unpublished M.A.
thesis, University of Chicago, 1931). Chase, a Mormon who also wrote a thesis
on the early Shakers, was the only person, who, to my knowledge, recognized
the important similarities between the Shakers and the Mormons.

General surveys of the communitarians appear perennially, for the
eccentricities of the utopians make "good copy." On the English and Norwegian
communities very little secondary reading was necessary. Generally speaking,
the standard accounts sufficed: Arthur Bestor, Jr., Backwoods Utopias (Phi-
la., 1950); D. D. Egbert and Stow Persons, Socialism in America (2 vols.; Princet-
ton, 1952); W. A. Hinds, American Communities and Cooperative Colonies (2d ed.;
Chicago, 1908); Charles Nordhoff, The Communist Societies of the United
States: from Personal Visit and Observation (New York, 1875); and John Humphrey
Noyes, History of American Socialism (Phil., 1870).

The Shakers are the only large group who have been well served by a serious historian; for Dr. Edward Deming Andrews has distilled a lifetime of study into his history of the sect: The People Called Shakers (New York, 1953). A much needed history of the Rappites (Harmony Society) has been forthcoming from Professor Karl J. Arndt for twenty years, but has not yet appeared. English communitarianism has finally been discovered by the English and W. H. G. Arnot of Sheffield University, Sheffield, England, has been publishing several informative articles in anticipation of the general history he is now writing. Of these articles the most useful for this dissertation has been: "A 19th-century Social Experiment," Country Life, CXX (Oct.-Dec., 1956), 1190-92. The Norwegians are amply treated in the publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association (just cited) and in Theodore C. Eleazer's standard two-volume history, Norwegian Migration to America (Northfield, Minn., 1931-40).

Writings on Mormon communitarianism and on Mormon cooperation form one of the largest segments of the secondary literature of Mormonism. A generation ago Joseph A. Geddes wrote a brief history of the United Order as a doctoral dissertation in what was then called "political economy": The United Order Among the Mormons (New York, 1922). Thinly and inaccurately researched, narrowly conceived, and superficially executed, it was of no value to me. The best summary of Mormon communitarianism outside that found in Mrs. Brodie's biography is Leonard J. Arrington, "Early Mormon Communitarianism," Western Humanities Review, VII (1952-53), 311-369. Edward J. Allen, The Second United Order Among the Mormons (New York, 1936) is useful but has now been largely superseded by Arrington's general history. The only detailed history of all the non-heretical United Order experiments in the east and in Utah is an unpublished treatise in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City: Farrows Y.
Fox, "Experiments in Cooperation and Social Security Among the Mormons" (Typescript, Salt Lake City, 1938). This work shows the careful research of a trained historian, but is devoted largely to the Utah experiments and, being written by a pious Mormon, does not take into account the larger forces of American history. Three older but oft-cited articles on economic practices in Utah are: Richard T. Ely, "Economic Aspects of Mormonism," Harper's Magazine, CVI (Apr., 1903), 672; Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation Among the Mormons," Quarterly Journal of Economics, XXXI (May, 1917); and Hamilton Gardner, "Communism Among the Mormons," ibid., XXXVII (Nov., 1922). There have been many such articles on "Mormon socialism." The first wave appeared in the years before and after the turn of the century when interest in socialism and economics was high; the second wave appeared during the Great Depression when Mormon relief measures attracted wide attention. A book that traces out in detail the effects of the Plat of the City of Zion on the settlements of Utah is Lowry Nash, Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement (Salt Lake City, 1952).

The most recent survey of progress in the study of Mormon history is Marvin S. Hill, "The Historiography of Mormonism," Church History, XXVIII (Dec., 1959).
DIGEST

Mormonism is not to be identified with the Book of Mormon or the visions of Joseph Smith. After the formal organization of the church in April, 1830—when only five or six local families were members—the church developed in both polity and doctrine till, by the time of the exodus to Utah in 1846, a new religion had been formed. This new religion was Mormonism.

Central to the development of this new religion was its communitarianism, and this communitarianism was based on the millennial "United Order of Enoch," a set of institutions that were to form the basis of a series of ideal "cities of Zion" in the West, whose capital, the City of Zion, was located at Independence, Missouri. The United Order and other communitarian institutions became a part of Mormonism about 1831, and were influenced by Shakerism and by other forms of communitarianism, notably English and Norwegian. Mormon communitarianism was not the simple product of New England or the invention of Brigham Young, but a composite of various influences playing upon the mind of Joseph Smith and leading church officials.

After 1838, a system of social and economic life that combined tithing with cooperatives replaced the United Order of Enoch. Cooperation, which may be traced back to early Mormon communitarianism, became the leading value and way of life in Utah. In spite of the rise of orthodox capitalism in Utah after 1900, Mormonism has retained a communitarian cast to this day.